

Looking at just one family, the Rockefellers, we see proof of ~~itself~~ how a fortune estimated at over \$4 1/2 billion becomes consolidated, strengthened and increased through the ~~acquired~~ economic, political, social and cultural power that this wealth can acquire. Nelson Rockefeller's portion of the family wealth (according to Nelson himself, his total holdings are \$218 million and his annual income is \$4.6 million) has bought political power to back up family interests. It has acknowledged ~~spending~~ ^{doing on} ~~over \$2 million~~ ^{millions} to political candidates and public officials. In addition to the \$10-12 million he spent on his presidential aspirations and the \$4.6 billion that went into making him governor of New York state. Now Nelson is Vice President after being ^{selected &} confirmed by ^{the same} people ~~who~~ he bought off long ago. Nelson's brother David controls vast financial & business interests for the family as chairman of the board for Chase Manhattan bank. Another brother, John D. III, generates more Rockefeller power through foundations and charities that dictate family interests to educational and cultural institutions. Meanwhile over 8 million people in this country can not find work while tens of millions more earn slave wages that cannot provide basic needs for their families. ~~The ruling class is clearly the enemy of all poor and working people.~~

2. Many people say that the SLA has a narrow view of the lumpen elements of society. What ^{groups} does the SLA consider to be the leading forces of the revolution?

A. We see the proletariat -- the workers (those fortunate enough to have jobs), the masses of unemployed, the rank and file military and our sisters and brothers in prison -- as the vanguard in the struggle to destroy imperialism and build socialism.

Leadership grows out of struggle and is strengthened and revolutionized through practice. "There is no leadership without sacrifice and direct participation in revolutionary activity (Carlos Marighella)." We see that the leadership of the proletariat on the guerrilla front and the mass front must be both military and political in order for the armed struggle in this country to be successful. Political power grows out of the barrel of a ^{gun} ~~gun~~... Political in command. Too often so-called revolutionaries opportunistically exploit the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao by presenting only half of this dialectic. The fact is that above ground mass organizing that does not aim the people in the direction of armed struggle sets the people up to be slaughtered; and military actions carried out with no clear politics behind them doom the guerrilla front to isolation and defeat. Leadership which attempts to isolate only half of a dialectical question in order to further its own aim is totally un-materialist and anti-revolutionary.

Total national liberation struggles are the focal point of revolutionary activity. The leadership demonstrated by Black and Third World revolutionary parties grows out of these struggles. The oppressed peoples of this country -- Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians -- have a long history of struggle.

Q. What is the War Council and how do you see it functioning?

A. The War Council is the mechanism to unite the guerrilla forces. The leadership of military/political cells, groups and organizations that have proven their commitment by engaging in armed struggle, come together to form a joint strategic command for the guerrilla front in order to formulate strategy, analyze tactics, coordinate operations and share resources.

Our Declaration of Revolutionary War presents a military model for the formation of a Revolutionary War Council for all ~~XXXXXX~~ guerrilla forces to analyze and improve upon as they put their politics into practice. Our concept of the War Council is similar to the Latin American Council of Revolutionary Coordination-- each group retains its autonomy while, at the same time uniting with others to strengthen the revolutionary forces. The formation of a War Council is a response to a practical need and the message of comrade George Jackson:

Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and love in revolution. Pass the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people.

have ~~been~~ worked with many brothers
Cassola and Bo, ~~who they joined the cell, and~~ of
~~was~~ in the California Prison. Lot of the basis for their
becoming guerrillas was because of their experiences in the
prisons. He was an ex-member of Venceremos organization.

~~He was in the Bay Area. Cassola is from Fla. [unclear],~~
~~(both are from working class background)~~ He had a lot of
military ~~experience~~ because he spent 18 months in Viet Nam as a
combat soldier in

~~that, to [unclear] in Vietnam on reconnaissance tours.~~
~~He was in combat [unclear] the entire time.~~

Volanda -- I think the important thing about Cassola and
though
Bo is their dedication to struggle with their own racism
and to help other white people to struggle with their racism
and a ~~commitment~~ ^{their needs} to be unity between whites
and blacks ~~that is~~ to destroy capitalism. When they were
in San Quentin and in the Alameda County Jail there were
several occasions when the pigs tried to set them up, in other
words, tried to escalate the prevailing racial divisions in
order to get blacks to attack these two brothers because they
were white. But the pigs just couldn't make it happen be-
cause there was just too much unity between Cassola and Bo and
the black and other white prisoners.

Toni -- The pigs ended up having to beat them up them-
selves ~~on the way to court one morning.~~

Toni -- ~~that's probably not the only time. The other~~
~~thing that should be pointed out is that Bo, [unclear] to give~~
~~an example of the [unclear] of his commitment to the~~

~~the [unclear] of [unclear] Bo was one of the few white~~
people who ~~took~~ ^{put} their bodies up to rounded face with the
intention of using arms to help the [unclear] defend its

these false divisions only benefit the capitalist ruling class and keep the masses divided.

In spite of their low level of class ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ consciousness, ~~xxxxx~~ however, racial ideas divide white people in the US among the least progressive ^{whites} in the world. The bulk of the proletariat in this country is composed of whites, and they must be moved forward and organized in order for the revolution to free all oppressed people. It is the duty of white revolutionaries to struggle against ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ racism with their white sisters and brothers in the factories, on the streets, on the barracks and behind prison bars. For it is white-race white racism that is keeping the working class divided and weak, and preventing it from fulfilling its historic role as the revolutionary vanguard.

Some whites turn away from this struggle. They prefer to encourage the white proletarians' righteous hatred of the ruling class because it seems more "rewarding" (easier). This is a reactionary non-revolutionary approach to the problem of proletarian unity. In the ranks of the white proletariat we see the contradiction between revolutionary potential and reactionary tendencies-- between class unity and racial class division. Struggle must take place in order for the revolution to triumph over the bourgeois, and this struggle must be encouraged, aided, advanced ~~xxxx~~ and supported by revolutionaries of all races.

strive for, and the leadership at any particular time is determined by which individuals at that time are the most advanced, and all the other people struggle to attain what the person in leadership has already attained.

Q. I think that I should probably point out that Black women seem to have been in the leadership of both the Black Liberation Army and the United People's Liberation Army, so this situation may not even be that far away in all of the various groups. Could you tell us something about how you are actually organized militarily in terms of your policies of inter-group discipline, and what that implies as regards for example your lifestyle?

A. Take-- We have our ~~code~~ of war, and we see these as something that is necessary for a military/political cell that is operating on a military level. Essentially what this is is a basis for our development of self-discipline...guidelines. These guidelines are such that they give us a basis for struggling against bourgeois values and individuality. We're trying to develop ourselves. ~~Maxim~~ we're not trying to make ourselves robots, we're trying to develop ourselves in a rev. way and we find that being people that have grown up under bourgeois ideology, that we have to create a disciplined framework ~~with~~ with which to function under. We aren't yippies, we are very serious and we find that because we are involved in military actions that we have to maintain a realistic form of discipline.

Yolanda - We also realize that people make mistakes and

Few GI's had college educations, which made the prospects of finding decent jobs and surviving in Canada or Sweden more difficult.

movement. It wasn't until a little later that the student anti-war movement began to realize that it had allies among the rank and file military. It was about that time that Vietnam Veterans Against the War came into existence. It took a while for the rank and file, the peons of the military to get over their resentment of the ~~liberal elements of the~~ ^{privileged college} ~~students~~ ^{privileged classes} who were protesting the war. Many of these brothers had no choice in being shipped off to Vietnam to do the dirty work ~~for~~ US Imperialism. Most of them ~~had no~~ ^{came from poor} ~~wealthy~~ families who ~~could~~ ^{not} support them in exile, if they chose to desert. ~~Few of them had been to college which might have made finding work in Canada or Sweden more of a reality.~~ Many of those who did split and who came from the lower classes wound up in jail or strung out on dope, their oppression increased. * ①

Shortly after I left the Marine corps I re-enrolled at Indiana University under the GI Bill. This was in the winter of 1968. During this period I met an IU grad and Vietnam Vet named Jeff Sharlet who was putting together the first GI movement paper called Vietnam GI. He was working out of Chicago and was a real strong GI organizer. At the time the paper was reaching thousands of GI's and Vietnam Veterans throughout the country and overseas. Jeff died a couple of years after I met him, but the paper helped spawn many other underground GI papers, and of course ~~it was~~ the GI movement ~~and~~ played a major role in forcing the US out of Vietnam. Capitalists ^{continually} can't use the cream of the working class to fight its dirty war if the brothers refuse to fight.

In particular, we have in the forefront of revolutionary struggle
in America, defining the terms of resistance and raising the level
of militancy to meet the escalation of pig repression throughout the
years. ~~Third World leadership incorporates a personal~~
~~understanding of racism with a high degree level of class~~
~~consciousness. White revolutionaries must follow the leadership~~
~~which grows out of~~

Amerikkkan major cities, the populations of which are over-
whelmingly Third World, are hot-beds of colonial revolt. Blacks
alone make up 40% of the industrial proletariat. Third World
proletarians suffer the double oppression of classism and racism
(which cuts across all class lines). The people have felt the effects
of racism in their communities for years. They don't need to be
told what is wrong with Amerikkka, they want to know what they ^{can}
do about it. "To postpone our revolution with the excuse that 'the
people aren't ready' is to underestimate them; in effect it's like
saying they don't have the mentality to act in their defense (George
Jackson)."

It is racist to believe that the liberation of oppressed nations
within the borders of the United States must wait for the white workers
to get their shit together.

Third World leadership incorporates a personal understanding
of racism with a high level of class consciousness. White revolution-
aries must follow the leadership which grows out of ~~our~~ struggles
for national liberation. This is no mere takeover, rather it is a
struggle for victory. This leadership has been proven through practice
to be real and strong, consistently providing the revolutionary
movement with correct direction. We do not deny the revolutionary
leadership capabilities of our white comrades in the fight against

that we want to have a structured way of dealing with mistakes that come from lack of self-discipline, in order to attempt to avoid them in the future.

Q. Could you give me an example of some of these mistakes that perhaps occurred in the past, and how they were dealt with within the group?

A. Yolanda-- I think the one mistake that occurred at the most serious level within the cell was people falling asleep on their watches. That was dealt with ^{by} the person in command, Cin, ^{who} gave the discipline after hearing ^{the details of} ~~the details of~~ the situation, you know, what had happened. The discipline was different for different people-- at one time the discipline was to clean all the ammunition for the cell. This isn't an easy thing to do because of the cyanide in our ammunition, there's a certain amount of corrosion that needs to be steamed off every week or so with steel wool, and it's a very long tedious process, so in that case the punishment was pretty severe.

Tania-- Another time it was suspension of cigarettes for a week, which may not seem like such a big deal but if ~~you're~~ you're a smoker it's really a drag to not be able to smoke for a week.

Toko-- ~~The idea being that~~ On minor types of violations ^{disciplinary action} ~~that~~ the commanding officer will deal with ~~them~~. No discipline would be meted out the would be so horrible that a person would feel oppressed. No one would be given any form of corporal punishment.

racial and class oppression. Revolutionary white workers have been, and now, are, will continue to be in positions of leadership. But we understand that white revolutionaries must continuously struggle to ~~eliminate~~ eliminate their own racism, and the racism of other white people in society. We know that white people cannot achieve an advanced understanding of racism in isolation. Revolutionary whites must learn from, follow the leadership of, engage in day to day struggles with, and fight beside Third World comrades. Revolutionary whites cannot organize Black and Third World people for armed struggle (or mass struggle) because as yet there is no basis of trust--whites have ~~xxx~~ historically sold out the just struggles of oppressed people. However, white revolutionaries must take the leadership role to organize white people and must do so in order to begin forging proletarian unity.

The ruling class has created false divisions in the working class based on race. Imperialism has nurtured and supported racism and national chauvinism, particularly among white proletarians who traditionally have been manipulated into submission by the bourgeoisie. Bought off in the past by the fruits of imperialism (via consumerism) they ~~fix~~ feel a false sense of "privilege." In general they have hated and feared their Third World sisters and brothers in the working class, mistakenly perceiving them as a threat to their "job security." The present economic situation, however, is causing ~~xxx~~ white workers to realize that the "differences" among proletarians are the result of the invention of capitalist exploitation. The true threats to job security--automation, inflation, recession and the reaction--are causing men and women workers to find themselves in the ranks of the reserve labor army (technically unemployed). As a result, the class consciousness of the proletariat is able to rise above the race question, and the class struggle that

1. People who are not members of the Communist Party
revolutionary movement in the United States. The
League has criticized the CP for its attitude towards
the revolutionary or united front strategy. How
do you feel about this criticism?

[illegible]

~~unity and who struggle to build a new, revolutionary communist party~~
~~that will play a vanguard role in the fight to liberate the US worker~~
~~and peasant population.~~

~~_____~~ We believe criticism is best at times and con-
sidered this question one of _____ . ~~The~~ Of
my media distortions + ~~and progress~~ have caused in the mass movement to
the union of our practice as well as ~~our own~~ ~~own~~

based almost entirely on political background and present ideology. We have not "banned the little Trotskyists", which is the way the CIA has been/continues to be run. It is not a sectarian organization, but it is Marxist/Communist underground. It is we mean that the CIA is not tied to an ideology, but, as a result of interpretation of ideology or ideology, we do not expect the CIA to exploit the

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nations.

Teko -- ~~XXXXXXXX~~ The policy of the SLA and the Sym. Fed. is not to agitate for separation. The policy of the SLA is to create unity -- that's what Symbionese means-- but if we don't take as strong a position as we possibly can ^{defending} on the right of oppressed nations to separate, ^{on} defend ^{ing} their right of self-determination, even to the point of defending that right with our lives, then any form of unity is meaningless unity, for instance cooperative economy, sharing of resources, ^{by media d.} their separate governments.

Yolanda -- ~~hereby~~ the governments of those separate nations can come together to function in areas where there was state very specifically now you can leave the cell, and that is by notifying the Commanding Officer that you ~~and then waiting until you can be released in~~

~~proper~~ ~~source~~ ~~status~~ ~~city~~ ~~state~~ ~~county~~ ~~release~~ and members of the FBI, CIA, city, state, county, federal who are members of the United States military rank and file, difference between prisoners of war that we might take to be armed, ~~and we don't~~ turn anyone loose without care of their security as much as ~~we~~ taken care of ours.

Yolanda-- Another point that might be interesting to bring up about the Codes of War is that we see a major

Not. Chamisso, 7/16/11

... and that the ... are ...
... and that the ... are ...
... and that the ... are ...

2. The People's Republic of China has the right to ^{the} ~~an~~ imperialist right to interfere in the "elections" of Indonesia, and to export information to the people of the revolution." All this is said, to add that the main enemy of the people is "Socialism".

...and the ruling class is not capable, through its alliance
with the monopolies, to ... only robbery of the ...
and ... of ... of the Third World. It often is to increase
its wealth ... by exploiting the labor of billions of people
... ~~the ...~~ ... ~~...~~ ... ~~...~~ ...

[illegible][illegible]

into consideration the following. As
the above is a result of the fact that the
the above is a result of the fact that the
the above is a result of the fact that the

Nat. Chavornis, > way

nature of Imperialist exploitation.

1. U.S. Control of foreign ports.

~~D~~

how TW nat. lib. struggles help us defeat US govt.

Explain famine better

2. So that your general view is that the state apparatus and the ruling class behind it is attacking the people on all fronts and the people have to defend themselves. So the next question must be how should they defend themselves? What general ^{strategy} are you following and what general strategy do you recommend that other people follow?

A. Yolanda -- We see urban guerrilla warfare as being the strategy to follow in these beginning stages of armed struggle. We see urban guerrilla warfare as a way of mobilizing people to fight in the armed struggle and a way of wearing down the enemy. In the later armed struggle that grows out of this initial stage, during all-out revolutionary war ^{with the} ~~having the~~ support of the masses of people in this country, the enemy will be totally destroyed. Our strategy now is a method for working toward an all-out revolutionary war.

Take -- We see ~~IKXX~~ the present period as a mobilization period and we see urban guerrilla warfare as a means of mobilizing people while at the same time wearing down the enemy. At times it's been called the war of the flea. The idea of a flea on a dog's back. The flea doesn't stay in one place; the dog can't catch him because he keeps moving. Eventually a lot more fleas join the one flea on the dog and the dog can't get them all at one time. Pretty soon there are so many damned fleas that the dog dies because he just gets plumb tuckered out. One thing to understand is that guerrilla warfare is nothing new. It was not invented by Mao, like many people think. The

1. The word "Symbionese" will be the name of the public
organization to be formed, 1973, and it is significant that the
name is "Symbionese". What is the significance of the name, Symbionese?

a. The word Symbionese was taken from the word symbiosis which means
the coming to a unity of dissimilar organisms in order to bring about that
each organism benefits from the other. The word Symbionese ^{represents}
~~is~~ a unity of different races, classes, and cultural, ethnic and
religious backgrounds, all of which refer their mutual benefit in
the fight against common enemy -- US corporate racism and imperial-
ism. To understand that means win their own liberative struggle
in ^{from} the unity among people which they represent. As we forge unity
with other revolutionaries and coordinate our efforts, we may adopt
other names or others may adopt our name. Whichever happens, the
significance lies in the unity which has been furthered, not in the
name.

unless they are fighting ^{with} in the context of Black, Brown, Yellow, and comrades who can help them in the struggle.

Toko -- We see it in terms of a class perspective you know and this is not to say that we feel that someone because they are Black or Brown is automatically a good leaderXXXX. We have to examine the class nature of someone's experience, ~~size~~. ~~But~~ ^{It} just so happens that in this country, Third World people have a fairly clear conception of the class question without a whole lot of study because they essentially don't have the freedom to be in any class but the lower class.

Yolanda -- In this country because of racism, it ^{would be} ~~going~~ ~~to be~~ very difficult for whites to lead a struggle for unity. Representatives of all the oppressed nations, classes and groups are going to have to come together in attempt to forge that unity and overcome the problems of racism, misunderstanding and lack of trust.

Q. Do you see any special role in the revolutionary struggle for women?

A. Tania -- Women have equal participation in the struggle with men: at the same time they also have to help the men deal with certain problems that they have and their sexism.

Yolanda -- Right now within the cell structure we struggle against sexism more on a one to one basis, but sometime in the future I'm sure there will be some kind of policy resolutions and ideological discussions to create a more for-

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oppressed in this country which are largely Black and Third world people.

Tania -- We see that when the most oppressed elements in this society are free then everyone will be free. The best way to assure that the fight continues until the most oppressed are free is to see to it that representatives of these classes and races are in leadership positions, when they are qualified to lead.

Yolanda -- The SLA wants to develop the strategy and the tactics that will free the most oppressed people because like Tania said when they are free we will all be free. It's clear to us that the best qualified people to develop these strategies are the people that understand racism at the highest level ^{and} understand the experience of the most oppressed people in this country.

Teko -- We want something to exist whereby White revolutionaries can subjectively as well as objectively feel that to be following the lead of a Black or Brown or Red or Asian revolutionary is a subjective feeling of being secure in the fact that that leadership is going to enhance, escalate their struggle for freedom and that their security is even being dealt with on a proper level.

Yolanda -- That will be when White soldiers in the SLA have an advanced understanding of racism, their own racism, and the racism of other white soldiers and other White people in society. We see this as being the main struggle by the White comrades -- to deal with their own racism. We feel that Whites cannot deal effectively with their own racism

and in particular Blacks because of the level and length of the struggle they have engaged in. We feel that the BL has taught us many things; the Chicano Liberation Front has taught us many things. We think that Black and other Third ^{revolutionary} world groups that have existed thruout have taught us valuable lessons. The Black Panthers are one of these.

Yolanda -- The SLA says in our Revolutionary Program that the Sym. 11b Army and the Sym Fed. are to be led by Third World leadership. We see this as being very important and ^{completely} ~~is~~ different from tokenism that has existed in a lot of above ground leftist organizations.

Toko -- ~~THESE ARE THE~~ The SLA is military/political. It is not an above ground organization that attempts to ~~do~~ work in the communities. We are not in a position to front off Third World leadership because it could be very suicidal for us and for the struggle if that person is just a token and not a leader. So when we talk about leadership ~~no matter what race they come from~~, you can bet ^{these individuals} they are the most advanced politically and militarily because we need to survive on both of these levels.

Yolanda -- When we speak of the most advanced politically, we realize someone who is advanced politically needs to have experience of what racism has done to divide people in this country, because without that knowledge it is very difficult to know how to bring people together to fight a common enemy. The person who is advanced politically needs to have knowledge and common experience with the people who are the most

Yolanda -- Basically tho we don't trust in people's verbal intentions to fight. We'd rather remain patient to see that their intentions are confirmed by actions, before we can really believe what they say.

Q. You mention the Black Liberation Army and the Black Liberation struggle. How does the SLA see its role vis a vis Black and minority peoples?

A. Yolanda -- The SLA wants to see all people who are struggling against a common enemy (the US govt. and the US ruling class) unified together so that their struggle is a common struggle. We see the potential for growing trust between different groups and races of people as those people demonstrate thru their actions that they believe in one struggle and will fight to the death for the freedom of all peoples and races. Some of the divisions that have been perpetrated by the capitalists for their own end, really do not exist. Capitalism oppresses the majority of people in this country, and the differences between people are secondary to their common desire to be free and eliminate the pig. People are coming to see how much stronger they are when they unite with other fighting people and how much greater their chances of success *are.*

Take -- We also realize that Black and other Third World people have historically been in ^{the} ~~the~~ forefront of the struggle and we have, as Whites, learned very much from them. We see the leadership capabilities and potentials of Third World

4

Mass Front and the Guerrilla Front. Only if a strategy is military/political will the Mass Front be able to carry on its work of propagandizing and building organization-building without lapsing into reformism and setting the people up for slaughter as in Chile. Only if a strategy is military/political will the Guerrilla Front be able to carry on its work of propagandizing and army building without becoming isolated and thereby annihilated.

Many comrades place a purely political focus on party building. These people neglect the necessity of mobilizing the people for war. They neglect the fact that the embryo of a revolutionary people's army already exists in the US in the form of autonomous underground cells carrying out urban guerrilla warfare.

These pre-army organizations must be strategically united with the various pre-party above ground organizations in order for a fighting Communist party to come into existence. For as Comrade Martin Geste has said:

"the irrefutable truth is that a liberation struggle is revolutionary war. Revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, legal and clandestine, economic and political, where all forms of struggle are developing harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle. Anyone who by now has not grasped these basic facts does not know what liberation struggle is or is trying to calm off reform for liberation struggle."

M/P STRATEGY INTERNATIONALLY - VICTORY

~~Political Strategy~~

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

INSIDE U.S.

OUTSIDE US

TW LEADERSHIP

How TO BUILD A

M/P STRATEGY IN U.S.

TRADITIONAL POLITICAL STRATEGY - LACK OF HISTORICAL & INTERNATIONAL
PERSPECTIVE
WHY MILITARY EMPHASIS - WHY NOT WHAT

1) FASCIST NATURE OF U.S.

2) STRATEGY FOR VICTORY BASED ON INTERNATIONALISM - VIET
NAM

3) SHOW VULNERABILITY OF U.S. SYSTEM - SLA

4) ACTION ^{MOVES PEOPLE} _{EDUCATE} - MUST BE TOGETHER NOT ISOLATED ^{WACK} _{CRAP}

5) DEFEND COMMUNITY

WHITE WORKERS

♀

1) Fascism

2) [↓] unity w/ TW people

3) ♀

revolutionary leadership. The correct line is to not deny the revolutionary leadership capabilities of our white comrades in the fight against all class and race oppression. Revolutionary whites have been and will continue to be in positions of leadership. But we must understand that white revolutionaries ~~must~~ ^{have to} continuously struggle to eliminate their own racism and the racism of other white people in society.

The ruling class has created false divisions in the proletariat based on race. Imperialism has nurtured and supported racism and national chauvinism, particularly among white workers. The present economic situation, however, is causing many whites to realize that the "differences" among proletarians are largely the inventions of capitalist exploitation. The true threats to job security -- automation, inflation, recession, and depression -- are leading more and more workers to find themselves in the ranks of the reserve labor army (terminally unemployed). As a result, the class consciousness of the proletariat is advancing with each passing day and the people are deciding that these false divisions based on race only benefit the capitalist ruling ~~class~~ and keep the people enslaved.

White revolutionaries must actively engage themselves in the struggle to educate white workers that racism is not in their self-interest. However, white ~~revolutionaries~~ cannot achieve an advanced understanding of racism in isolation. Revolutionary whites must learn from, follow the leadership of, engage in day to day struggles with and fight beside Third World comrades. This is the only way in which proletarian unity can be forged.

Some comrades shy away from this struggle. They prefer to encourage white proletarians' righteous hatred of the ruling class because it is more "rewarding" (easier). This is a reactionary non-struggle approach to the problem of unifying the working class. In the ranks of white proletarians ~~there~~ there is a contradiction between revolutionary potential and reactionary tendencies --

between class solidarity and racial class division. Struggle must take place in order for the revolutionary to triumph over the reactionary and this struggle must be encouraged, aided, and advanced by revolutionaries of all races.

Women's Struggle for Self-Determination

To be written

BE LONG A FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY

The practical necessity of a strong vanguard party has been proven many times since the Bolshevik Revolution. Even when wars of national liberation have been carried out by a united front (China, Vietnam, Cambodia) the leading force has been a fighting communist party. A disciplined party guided by the science of Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought and comprised of the most militarily advanced and politically conscious elements of the proletariat can provide the leadership necessary for victorious people's war and the building of socialism.

There is no such party in America, but in recent times many organizationally aligned and independent Marxist/Leninists have put a top priority on building one. We see this activity as a positive step forward in the interest of the people. However, forming a party is not a simple task. It involves much struggle, both ideological and practical. As we see it, there will be numerous pre-party formations before a fighting party is actually consolidated. These pre-party formations will help revolutionaries in overcoming what we perceive to be the three most important problems in party-building

Insert: "There is no leadership without sacrifice and direct participation in revolutionary activity" - Carlos Marighella

Strategy For Victory In The United States of North America

National Liberation Struggles

Today national liberation struggles are the focal point of revolutionary activity. The leadership demonstrated by Black and Third World revolutionaries grows out of these struggles. The colonized peoples in this country--Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians-- have a long history of revolt. Blacks in particular have been in the forefront of revolutionary struggles in amerikkka, defining the terms of resistance and raising the level of militancy to meet the escalation of rig repression throughout the years.

amerikkka's major cities, the populations of which are overwhelmingly Third World, are hot-beds of colonial revolt. Blacks alone make up 40% of the industrial proletariat. Third World proletarians suffer the double oppression of classism and racism. These people have felt the effects of fascism in their communities for years. They don't need to be told what is wrong with amerikkka, they want to know what they can do about it.

"To postpone our revolution with the excuse that 'the people aren't ready' is to underestimate them; in effect it's like saying they don't have the mentality to act in their defense."

--George Jackson

~~THESE ARE THE MAIN POINTS~~

One of the main points of the philosophy of Third World leadership. Third World leadership incorporates an understanding of racism with a high level of class consciousness. White revolutionaries must follow the leadership which grows out of the struggles of amerikkka's most oppressed people for national liberation. This is no mere tokenism, rather it is a strategy for victory. This leadership has proven through practice that it is capable of providing the

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National Liberation Struggles

Today national liberation struggles are the focal point of revolutionary activity. The leadership demonstrated by Black and Third World revolutionaries grows out of these struggles. The colonized peoples in this country--Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians-- have a long history of revolt. Blacks in particular have been in the forefront of revolutionary struggles in amerikkka, defining the terms of resistance and raising the level of militancy to meet the escalation of rig repression throughout the years.

amerikkka's major cities, the populations of which are overwhelmingly Third World, are hot-beds of colonial revolt. Blacks alone make up 40% of the industrial proletariat. Third World proletarians suffer the double oppression of classism and racism. These people have felt the effects of fascism in their communities for years. They don't need to be told what's wrong with amerikkka, they want to know what they can do about it.

"To postpone our revolution with the excuse that 'the people aren't ready' is to underestimate them; in effect it's like saying they don't have the mentality to act in their defense."

--George Jackson

~~THIS DOCUMENT IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

...to of the SLA support the philosophy of Third World leadership. Third World leadership incorporates an understanding of racism with a high level of class consciousness. White revolutionaries must follow the leadership which grows out of the struggles of amerikkka's most oppressed people for national liberation. This is no mere tokenism, rather it is a strategy for victory. This leadership has proven through practice that it is capable of providing the

U.S. imperialism is the greatest oppressor of humanity in history. But the tide is turning. Throughout the world the people in arms are resisting the North American monster. As revolutionaries in the mother country we must follow the lead of the ^{recently victorious} national liberation struggles ⁱⁿ Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. In this country we must have a dual focus in attacking and exposing US imperialism at its international centers of power: lending support to Third World countries in struggle and moving the masses of people in the US toward revolution.

From our own struggles of the sixties: ~~anti-imperialist~~ ~~Third World~~ ~~struggles~~ ~~against the war~~, and for the liberation of Third World people, women, and prisoners in this country, we learned ~~clearly~~ that the enemy will yield nothing without a fight. Fascism allows no meaningful reforms.

From the struggles of the Third World nations and the examples ~~of~~ the early Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, and the Weather Underground Organization, and our comrades in amerikkka's concentration camps we learned that the form this fight must take is armed struggle.

We are building for a protracted people's war in the United States of ~~amerikkka~~. Our enemy is the U.S. ruling class and its big agents. Our allies are the oppressed masses: black, brown, red, yellow, women, elderly, ~~new~~, imprisoned, workers, and unemployed.

We realize our struggle will be difficult but as the tide of humanity continues to rise against U.S. imperialism, as nation after nation proclaims its liberation, and as day after day more people at home become jobless, hungry and alienated because of the irrationality of the capitalist system under which they live, the vision of our ultimate victory becomes ever more clear.

by selling their labor to provide food, clothing, shelter and medical care for their families.

Teko -- The conditions of class society in the US make it such that a large portion of the most progressive elements of the working class are going to be Third World people. because of the way capitalism creates the double oppression; of-racism. The double oppression would be race and class oppression. We feel the working class will go thru a process which will gradually bring more and more elements of the working class to see the necessity and the practicality of taking up arms and organizing themselves in an army to overthrow the government. and ruling class.

Yolanda -- I think a lot of people in this country right now from the working class and the unemployed, people who cannot earn enough money to survive, are discovering that they definitely understand their own oppression and who the enemy is. But many elements are not sure how to deal with that enemy to bring about meaningful and total change. We are uniting right now with the most progressive elements of those groups who can see that armed struggle is the only way the change our condition. As time goes on this group of progressive people will grow larger as the masses of people comprehend their condition and see successful examples of how to change that condition. XXXXXXXX At this stage the progressive vanguard will have gained the support of the people and will be able to lead and win an all-out rev. war.

of the world. The Federation is not a class-
limited united front because it does not allow the participation of
bourgeois elements. The Federation's strategy for revolution will
be the product of combined internal struggle, but the guidelines to
be followed must be the elimination of US corporate fascism and im-
perialism and the building of socialism. In other words each repre-
sentative group must work in the total interest of its people and all *other*
people of the Federation.
The Federation is a practical mechanism of revolutionary lead-
ership both during and after the armed struggle. However, the rele-
vance of its existence depends upon whether or not a revolutionary
Marxist-Leninist party is formed, specifically a party which repre-
sents a unit of the leading elements of all liberation movements and
all oppressed people in America. ~~A strong party should prove the~~
~~relevance of the Federation.~~ Such a party should prove the
Federation's relevance. This will only be proven in practice.

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limited united front because it does not allow the participation of
bourgeois elements. The Federation's strategy for revolution will
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And until these revolutionary have power

help form "multi-national party" just because
it is a broad theoretical concept
~~the revolutionary cannot be expected to~~
~~control the state along with~~
~~the state~~
revolutionary struggle ~~can be expected~~ to remain

A. Teko -- The War Council is a mechanism for the coming together of autonomous cells, military/political combat units.

Yolanda -- Cells that have proven themselves thru action.

Teko -- We see this as a centralizing process that will take place sometime in the mobilizing period. To some degree it has already happened. This is a military model for action. I think a lot of people understand that it is a very practical model and have incorporated it in their activities as urban guerrillas.

Yolanda -- The War Council brings command elements together to form a common strategy so that ~~all~~ each of the cells can coordinate their ideas and actions, ^{can} ~~and~~ learn from each other, and can share resources such as arms, soldiers. This is a way of helping each cell learn and grow faster, because the strengths of one cell might be the weaknesses of another cell. So there's a lot of potential in the War Council and in cells coming together. The main disadvantages are security disadvantages. Whenever the War Council meets these need to be worked out.

Clarify: lack of total ideological unity in a Fed as
opposed to a party - also dif. from U. F.

revolutionary struggle ~~with~~ can be expected
to remain

TW revolutionaries cannot be expected to
casually enter into strong alliances with
~~the~~ white, I

help form a "multi-national party" just because
it is a sound theoretical concept, or

And until white revolutionaries have proven
their commitment to

they could be interested later in building it, altho there is that possibility, but I think there's greater chance that the groups and people that come together to destroy capitalism will, throughout the struggle, come to realize how they want ~~in~~ society to develop after they've gained power. That it will not be in the direction of capitalism.

Toko-- We see a lot of nationalist minded people as being to some degree led by bourgeois elements. And we have a lot of faith in people who engage themselves in struggle against capitalism to be able to see what the particulars are of the thing that's oppressing them. And we have a lot of faith in peoples ability to learn and understand what it's going to take to make themselves free in the end. Because of this we don't feel that it's necessary to dictate our particular political persuasion and ideology onto other people at this time. ~~As~~ It's a very old cliché, people aren't going to be given their freedom, they're going to have to seize it for themselves. and we're not going to be giving ~~no~~ anyone anything, except we're going to be giving the pigs a hell of a rough time.

Q. Which social classes do you see as leading forces in this Federation?

the class which is the class which that ruling class oppresses,

they could be interested later in building it, altho there is that possibility, but I think there's greater chance that the groups and people that come together to destroy capitalism will, throughout the struggle, come to realize how they want ~~in~~ society to develop after they've gained power. That it will not be in the direction of capitalism.

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Q. Which social classes do you see as leading forces in this Federation?

the class which is the class which that ruling class oppresses, which is largely the working class, as it's generally called. However, we also see that the structure of class society has

7-15200 PF Q2125

Clarifying by total ideological unity in a Federation - also by unity in a party - approved by the party - also by unity in a party

5 Q. In the SLA Declaration of Revolutionary War you reportedly mention the Symbionese Federation. Do you see the Federation as a substitute for a vanguard party, or is it a type of united front within which a vanguard party could play a leading role?

A. It is really neither of the two. We do not have a sectarian attachment to the concept of a revolutionary federation; therefore, we do not see it as a strategic substitute for a revolutionary communist party. In the absence of such a party a federation is a practical mechanism for achieving maximum unity and revolutionary cooperation from all progressive anti-imperialist forces.

Revolutionary practice in ameriKKKa shows that Third World Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary nationalists are putting a higher practical priority on strengthening movements for national liberation through building national unity rather than first attempting to join with white revolutionaries to form a multi-national communist party.

The Federation is a revolutionary pre-party formation which guarantees national sovereignty and self-determination; provides for mutual assistance among all revolutionary forces; establishes a framework from which to eliminate national mistrust through joint practice and therefore helps to create the foundations from which to build a truly revolutionary communist party.

A federation cannot be controlled by any one race, nation, party or by a minority of its representatives. It can remain functional only as long as the total needs and interests of all its combined forces are being met.

Unlike a party, such a Federation does not require total ideological unity ~~between~~ its various members. It is simply a practical framework from which serious Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary nationalists and non-aligned freedom fighters can jointly coordinate and carry on the business of revolution.

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A. The ...
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... cooperation ...

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... Attempting to join ...

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For people to be led the armed struggle it must be military/political. It cannot exist as a group of political functionaries sitting together and opposed to the military "red" squad. If a party is to lead it must itself be led by someone who have a clear understanding of strategy==military and of tactics on a concrete knowledge of the situation of concrete workers. It is to be led by a party that have a concrete revolutionary program. All revolutionaries==politically engaged in armed struggle must have a strict responsibility to insure that it is a fighting party of the armed people; for a party that operates only on a political level cannot turn a victorious armed struggle.

gone thru many changes thru many years and especially here in the US we see many different groupings of people that exist within the working class. We do not feel that we gear ourselves to just one of these many segments of the working class. We feel that all oppressed ^{people} are people that we are trying to reach, and people that we are fighting for.

We see a coming together of the most progressive elements of all classes, groups, organizations, parties etc. In terms of rev. potential we see that a lot of the people who will first realize the necessity of coming together to fight will come from the lower elements of the working class, the people who have been denied work, the people who are constantly losing their jobs, the people who haven't had a chance for meaningful work in a long time, the people who make up the populations of our prisons. We see very militant revolutionary people from within the industrial proletariat historically and presently who will come together with the unemployed to fight because they can see beyond their own job security.

Yolanda -- There has been an overlapping of some of the terminology used to speak of groupings of people. We would include the large group of the unemployed in this country in the working class. At times we use the term 'lower class' and that refers to a broad range of people including not only the unemployed, but some segments of the working and middle classes whose work is compensated at such an unfair level that they cannot provide adequately for the needs of themselves and their families. These people cannot make enough money

CLANDESTINE INFRASTRUCTURE In America the revolution is illegal. The penalty is death. The ruling class does not need a courtroom jockey to pass/sentence. There is no pressing need for death row, the chair, the gas chamber or the gallows.

CIA DESTINE INTERNAL-STRUCTURE In amerikKa revolution is illegal. ~~The~~
~~possibility is usually death.~~ Being a revolutionary in amerikKa is a
capital crime.

PLANNING THE INFRA-STRUCTURE

CLANDESTINE INFRA-STRUCTURE It is foolish and unscientific
"Fascism: Its most advanced form is here in Amerika." /To de-
bate George Jackson's analysis of US corporate fascism. It is racist
not to see that, ~~at the barest minimum~~, fascism has existed for Blacks
and other TI people in amerIKKa ~~XXX~~ through out our history. It is
suicidal to ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{assume} ~~that a revolutionary party/ can survive the military~~
~~object of ruling class reaction~~ ~~that~~ ^{guided by true revolutionaries} ~~can survive the military~~
by the military arm of the ruling class. "We will not succeed until
we fully accept the fact that the enemy is aware, DETERMINED, disguised,
totalitarian, and mercilessly counterrevolutionary."---Geo. Jackson
Revolutionary in amerIKKa is illegal, but it is a greater
If a revolutionary party proves its ability to lead the masses to
A revolutionary party that intends to survive until the victory is won
must have a clandestine infrastructure

nationalist ideology, or all Chicanos who believe in a more nationalist ideology for the Chicano people. At this time the War Council would unite these people even though the Chicanos might be interested in fighting the capitalist enemy so that in the future they can build a Chicano nation. And even though the Black nationalists might be interested in fighting the capitalist enemy so that they can build a Black nation in the future, and perhaps the soldiers in the calls

question of how do you unite different groups, how do you unite different races in this country if racism is the incredible obstacle that it is? We had to figure out a way that would insure the rights of oppressed nations and oppressed people to self-determination on a higher level than just verbal assurances. We wanted to develop some mechanism that could function in a much more flexible way than the concept of multi-nationalism. We see unity as being the only way by which we are going to eliminate the ruling class of the US of A. Unless the rights of oppressed people to self determination are insured, there is no basis for that unity and the struggle will never be successful.

Tania -- The Federation guarantees the freedom of the oppressed nations in this country to build their own separate nations if they desire that.

Yolanda -- they would have this freedom guaranteed at a stage after the rev. war has been won by the people. When the people ~~would~~ have won the power to build their own nations, ~~the~~ Federation ^{can} be the mechanism to insure that this building process ^{is} a coordinated process of all nations working together to insure the rights of

Clarify role of guerrillas to party formation (leadership)
Clarify clandestine role of party
list main points

③

REDEFINING THE STRUGGLE

"Fascism: Its most advanced form is here in America." It is foolish and unscientific to debate George Jackson's analysis of US corporate fascism. Fascism has existed for Blacks and other Third World people in amerikkka throughout its inglorious history. Although US imperialism is indeed a paper tiger, it still intends to maintain its power and control "by any means necessary". In Blood In My Eye the message is clear: Our revolution ~~can~~^{can} not succeed "until we fully accept the fact that the enemy is aware, determined, disguised, totalitarian, and mercilessly counterrevolutionary."

The fact is that revolution in amerikkka is illegal. ~~We have~~^{clear have been} had too many leaders imprisoned and murdered for this fact not to be painfully obvious. A party that leads the people to revolution will not survive its infancy without a clandestine infra-structure. At the first hint of its revolutionary intentions the party leadership will be marked for execution. They must not be found. Creating the infra-structure is as important as building the mass base, and in the beginning it should have the highest priority.

MILITARY/POLITICAL STRATEGY

Comrades who place a purely political focus on party building overlook the utter necessity of developing a military/political strategic plan. They assume that ~~the~~ armed struggle can begin only at some mysterious point after the party has been formed. A tenet of Marxism/Leninism is that the party ~~must~~ must direct the armed struggle. But to debate which comes first, which one will grow out of the other, without first applying this theory to concrete reality is to pander to dogmatism, transforming theory into impractical rhetoric and an obstruction to the revolutionary process.

The struggle of revolutionary people's war already exists in amerikkka in the form of urban guerrilla warfare being carried out by a number of autonomous underground cells. These units have their roots in many if-

that the people who have a choice will be treated a whole lot differently...People who could choose whether or not they are going to be a pig, which is the war we see a lot of these other people. We just don't see rank and file military brothers as pigs necessarily.

Yolanda-- We ~~kind of~~ look at rank and file police-- city, state, federal--as coming from a certain mentality within the population which is not just a casual random choice made for economic reasons: ~~that~~ it's much more of a considered

Another form of practical unity might be to fight a common enemy that's attacking one or more of the nations in the Federation.

Teko-- We see it as a way of building toward the time when we all will be totally united under one gov't. This is the only possible way in that we can insure that people have the freedom to develop ~~themselves~~ themselves and at the same time build socialism.. We do not see it as an attempt to divide, but we see it as a practical way to bring about the kind of society that we all need.

Q. What makes a group a nation for these purposes? Suppose some Blacks think they're a nation and ~~some~~ other Blacks don't think Blacks are a nation...who decides?

A. Yolanda-- At times that seems to be more a question of terminology even than reality. Just talking about the cell structure as it is now, there are some cells ~~in the form of~~ fighting guerrillas that ~~represent~~ represent a unity between different races of people, and there are other calls that are composed of all Blacks who believe in a more

Only by growing from this point of unity can
a party

For

that the people who have a choice will be treated a whole lot differently...People who could choose whether or not they are going to be a pig, which is the war we see a lot of these other people. We just don't see rank and file military brothers as pigs necessarily.

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Clearly the major obstacle to the formation of such a party is the
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"Revolutionary" as unbroken. They value the
ancient traditions. If we do so, if we
do, the one and the other, not alone com-
ing to us. They will not have accord-
ing to a nation; that is, the old and the
new, and the old and the new."

[illegible]

The Marxist view of the Revolution of XIXXXXX is such a communist party in the absence of unity between Third World and white revolution. I feel that the most advanced and politically conscious elements of the proletariat in XIXXXXX are largely Third World people the spirit of which are From the Black Nation. Black people are over forty percent of the industrial proletariat. The Black Nation is an oppressed national entity and Black revolution will have Continually the Black Nation in the leading position in the struggle to defeat Capitalism and the imperialists.

By the following we have given them, directing that
they be given to the children of the Lord 11 of the month of
September. The money to be given to the children of the
Lord to be given to the children of the Lord 11 of the month of
September.

interests and therefore our direct enemy as we fight on the
agents of the ruling class, used to defend ruling class
Tako-- pigs can refer in the narrow sense to police, armed
A. Tania -- pigs are enemies of the people.

Q. What do mean when you use the term "pigs"?

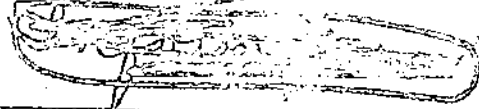
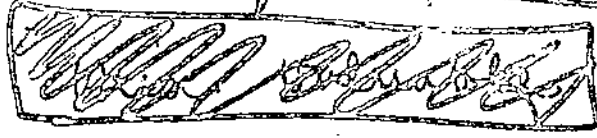
who can develop the kind of consciousness that Tania has.
people. There aren't very many people from the ruling class
their backgrounds and to struggle for a better future for all
people to the degree that they are willing to struggle against.
of that kind of consciousness and we have love for those
people to come from even ruling class backgrounds and develop
Tako Tania -- we have already proven that it is possible for
selves.

people and who want to free all people as well as them-
country is not going to give up anything unless by so doing
they feel like it might buy them time to consolidate their
control over the working class. They won't give up their
power nonviolently, without struggle. When we see workers
engaging in strikes we say that's good -- we like to see
any form of agitation. But we hope the people understand
the implications of the acts that they engage in. We hope
that they can see the difference between revolution and
reform. We want to see a progressive militancy to continue
on the part of all people; we don't want to see people when
until the next concrete
increase no matter how large is going to solve their problems
because its not going to end capitalism. People are going
to have to continue to struggle. Any reforms that can be
small
won are fine, but let's not let the/advantage of those reforms

1. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. If there is a significant difference, a problem is identified.

...forward the interest of all oppressed people. However,
...It is clear that the path
...infrastructure

Q2127



7-15200 PF Q2127

"IN 33-X"

(1)

Women and Youth are the most progressive elements among white people today. The need for change is felt most directly by these two groups. The white youth are disillusioned with the materialistic world of their parents' generation and want some real values to embrace rather than the phony patriotic pap their country hands them. Women are besieged daily in all areas by sexism. The Women's Movement, since its resurgence in the sixties, has been continually struggling and growing to deal with the root causes and implications of sexism in people's lives.

In the 1960's, the Women's Movement was reborn. ~~The roots of rebirth~~ ^{by women's liberation} ~~the anti-war movement~~ ^{the anti-war movement} were nurtured in the Civil Rights Movement, in the early sixties, to a great extent. The original Women's Movement in the U.S. had begun through women's participation in the Abolitionist Movement in the 1840's. In both cases, women came together with men to fight in the name of other oppressed people and through that struggle and their treatment in it, came to recognize their own oppression.

The year 1966 saw founded the first women's organization in years called the National Organization for Women (NOW). This group ^{continues to} works on a fairly traditional political level, lobbying for political and civil equality for women. Its membership is basically white, middle-class, professional women who have a material stake in the establishment and who want to see it continue but weighted more toward their side. Meanwhile, a younger, more loosely-based Women's Movement was growing at the same time. It rose up in reaction to the New Left, white male-dominated politics of the Civil Rights and Anti-War Movements and also due to a rising national interest in women. The younger movement was anti-leadership and anarchistically structured.

the group

(2)

Its main organizing tool was consciousness-raising implemented through the rag group structure. The "under-30" Women's Movement was spontaneous and far-reaching. Thousands of women came together to share their experiences of isolation from each other and discovered a common ground of oppression. Through sisterhood, they began to reject the cynicism and alienation of the predominant white male culture. They began and are continuing to develop and build their own culture-in music, theatre, painting and other art forms. Countless discussion and grassroots organizing groups sprang up around the country that focused on women-centered issues such as birth control, day care, ~~and~~ abortion and sterilization.

The Feminist Movement has given rise to a tremendous upsurge of energy among women and great revolutionary potential. Its repercussions have hit every sector of society because women, as a group, cut across class and racial lines. Because women are in every stratum of society, ~~we~~ ^{we} have unlimited potential to unify all groups of people if ~~they~~ ^{we}, ~~themselves~~ ^{our}, are unified.

Women ^(now) recognize that ~~they~~ ^{we} are oppressed and that there is a vital need for change. To achieve our liberation, women must now begin to develop and coordinate a strategy through which this can be done. We, the women in the SLA, feel strongly that we must develop a strategy for Feminist revolution.

The basis for women's oppression contains two aspects: a) cultural and b) economic. ~~As a~~ Culturally, women are kept isolated from each other in nuclear families and relegated socially to a position of subordination to one male or, at the least, to the ideals of a male-dominated society. We must erase from our minds our preconceptions of ourselves as inadequate, inferior, and passive people. We need to do this apart from the men, to learn to love and struggle with each other, without the constant interference and/or approval of men. At the same time, we must try to struggle and work ~~with~~ ^{and} men to fight for and build a new society that allows us all to / be free

(3)

of the status of sexism and other forms of oppression. Men must understand that women who fight as Feminist revolutionaries are fighting for their freedom ~~and~~ ^{with} unlimited determination. They must see that the freedom of women equals the freedom of all people because it ends the basic power imbalance in human relationships, which is the sanctioned domination of one-half of the people (women) by the other half (men).

Economically, sexism is a potent tool of the ruling class. It is used to keep half of the people down, working for wages lower than men's with greater job insecurity. Through the institution of the nuclear family, it keeps women isolated from each other and unable to share common experiences and problems. The nuclear family bestows on the economy a free, domestic labor force that keeps its male workers well-fed and taken care of, negates the need for government-sponsored daycare centers, and ^{conditions} ~~gives~~ ^{male} ~~workers~~ ^{their own} ~~slaves~~ ^{to dominate so that they won't} ~~take their~~ ^{frustrations} ~~out on the ruling class men.~~

We see Feminist Revolution as our primary focus as women revolutionaries. Feminist Revolution insures the liberation of women. It has three ~~top~~ primary targets against which we fight. They are: a) sexism, b) classism and c) racism. We see sexism as the basic form of oppression, refined through the centuries until its development into the sophisticated, all-pervasive form we have today, which gives the illusion of freedom at times without really giving any of all. We realize this sad fact and we are going to have to take our freedom.

All the struggles of the oppressed people must work hand in hand. As oppressed people, women have a real stake in revolution (much more than white men) and can, therefore, better identify with and understand Third World and class struggles. Although the big media characterizes the Women's Movement as white and middle-class and, to a great extent, it is, we consider Feminist Revolution a unifying platform for all races and classes of women.

(11)

It is a basis for fighting closely with groups who have other primary focuses of oppression. We fully understand that if we fight a revolution in this country we may gain a socialist economy and abolish racism and classism but unless women push, shove, and fight like hell for Feminist Revolution, sexism could very well flourish after that revolution.

Feminist Revolution means: a) freedom and self-determination for all women, b) cultural and economic (socialist) revolution, and c) recognizing the need for armed struggle to win a revolutionary war. (Women are demanding freedom and our right to organize and define our own strengths and abilities. However, we cannot have total self-determination without freedom from cultural and economic exploitation that keeps us and all oppressed people unable to control our own lives and livelihoods. We believe that ^{we} Feminism insures the freedom of all people because it encompasses all segments of society and it cannot work unless all people are culturally and economically revolutionized. We fully realize we cannot win a revolutionary war without armed struggle. Armed struggle is the basis for beginning the military/political strategy necessary to wage a successful campaign for victory. Armed struggle does not in and of itself insure the liberation of women. However, it is an extremely important component of revolution, a revolution in which women want to be victorious. Consequently, we must prepare ourselves to exert leadership, ~~and~~ ingenuity, and skill in the armed front.

Women are looked to for leadership on all levels of struggle, in both the mass front and the guerilla front. We have already seen fine examples of this leadership throughout the world, and have been deeply inspired by our sisters in Vietnam, China, Latin America, Africa, the Weather Underground and Black Liberation Army. Through their active participation in the struggle revolutionary women provide their sisters with righteous examples of strong,

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aggressive leaders, soldiers, organizers, writers and speakers. Reactionary women like Gloria Steinham or government collaborators like Jane Albert must be identified and denounced. We cannot afford to be liberal in regard to our own sex when certain members work against our struggle. Education about women revolutionaries, both past and present, is a devastating weapon against the enemy. It raises people's consciousness as to the potential of women in revolutionary struggle and increases women's militancy and confidence to join the battle.

Out of the Women's movement we see emerging the potential leadership of white people in the coming revolutionary struggle. Throughout the past ten years among white people, women have shown consistently the most initiative and creativeness. They have effectively united the personal with the political, a crucial aspect to revolution in a culturally alienated and economically imbalanced society.

Y. page 1

Q. Let's start with some idea of your earlier life. Where did you grow up and what was your family like?

A. I grew up in a white upper middle class suburb of Chicago. My father is a successful business-type. He's not rich like the media's implied, but I'd definitely say he's gotten more than his share of bourgeois comforts, ~~and the~~ ^{place}. He went to college and worked his way up through the ranks of different corporations until now he has a small business of his own. He comes on real strong with the Puritan ethic that says anybody can be "successful" if they're honest and work hard. He's real uptight and I never could talk to him honestly because I knew he wouldn't tolerate any challenges to his way of thinking and doing things. His life is laid out like a blueprint -- and he's rationalized and explained away too many things for too long to be able to realize that his blueprint isn't worth a shit -- that it's corrupt because it's based on class privilege, racism, ^{& the} ~~and~~ sexism ^{on it} ~~to~~ oppress millions of people.

My mother fits the stereotype of a reserved and refined woman. She tries to ignore anything unpleasant and always keeps up a front of superficial harmony. Any kind of threat to that harmony, like say a family argument, gets squelched not struggled over and worked out.

Q. Is it true that after the Hearst kidnapping, your parents went to the FBI and turned in your name as a suspect?

A. That's a strong possibility. My information comes from the media and I know from my own experience that the media lies all the time, but I wouldn't put it past my parents to sell me out like that. I'm sure they rationalized that they were doing it for my own good.

~~But now they feel like they owe to the judge of what's right and~~
~~wrong.~~ To them, there's not^a doubt that the feds are right and
their daughter must pay the price. Their blueprint morality
it all out in black and white.

What happened was, I wrote a letter to my family after Cassie and Bo got captured. I was living ~~underground~~ ~~by~~ ~~that~~
time and I wanted to be ~~totally~~ ^{somewhat} out front with ~~them~~ my family
for once. Also I had a malicious desire to blow their minds so
they wouldn't even want to hear from me again. It was foolish, I
but my parents must have keyed in on two things I said. First,
that I loved a Black man; second that I was committed to building
a better, more human way of life and to ~~do~~ that our present society
must be destroyed. I didn't go into detail about how I felt that
society would be destroyed or what would constitute a ~~new~~
I ~~didn't say~~ ~~no mention at all~~ that I believed in socialist revolution,
guerrilla warfare or revolutionary violence.

When my father heard reports in the news media that the prime
suspects in the Hearst kidnapping were ~~two~~ ^{revolutionaries} Black men and a white
woman, he ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~convinced~~ ^{was} involved because I had written the
a letter about destroying this society and had said I loved a Black
man. His racism and right-wing narrow mindedness convinced him
to turn his daughter in to the ~~feds~~. I wonder if he realized that
he might even be setting his own daughter up for execution by
who shoot first and ask questions later.

Q. At what point in your life did you begin to ~~change~~ and move away from your middle class upbringing?

A. I can't really pin it down to a point in time, but I'd say ever since Teko and I got together at Indiana University in 1968, we've both gone through a lot of struggles and a lot of changes. When I first got to know Teko he had just gotten back from several years in the Marines. He had been to Vietnam and had become convinced while he was there that no Americans should be there, and he had ^{other} serious criticisms of the US government, ~~based on his personal~~ ^{being} ~~experience in Southeast Asia~~. I could relate to what he was saying and could trust it because he was talking to me from gut-level first hand experience.

We would go ^{to} parties with people who normally dug on getting drunk and doing little flirtatious numbers on each other, and instead of engaging in this kind of escapism, Teko would talk about Vietnam, the Black Panthers, the demonstrations at the 1968 Olympics. Usually Teko would argue louder and louder as the party went on. Other people would become belligerent because they didn't want to hear what he was saying. They felt like he was disruptive to the carefree social environment they were trying to create.

Q. What about you, did you ^{generally} ~~always~~ agree with what he was saying?

A. Sometimes I didn't. He was a pretty heavy challenge to my old adolescent dreams of marrying a stockbroker and living in the suburbs. But I really dug him because he was aggressive and independent. He wasn't afraid to be different. I mean, we'd get pissed off and try to shout each other down, because we are both pretty fucking stubborn. **But** the main thing that kept us

beat me over the head with his ideas until I was ready to explode with wanting to shut him up. It was clear to me that I was going to have to struggle against his sexist attitudes; otherwise I would always feel resentful and he would always under-estimate me and look down on me.

Other women I knew were going through similar hassles so we started to get together. ~~Initially~~ ^{we} focussed pretty much on our personal oppression ~~as it related to housework and our male friends.~~ ^{and} didn't ~~XXXXX~~ really get into the roots of sexual oppression in society, but talking about our common problems was a ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ real boost in our awareness.

The women's movement in Bloomington, Indiana served as a progressive example for me by broadening my perspective on women's oppression. Some of the sisters in leadership put forward a Marxist analysis of sexism and tried to focus struggles on broad-based community issues like daycare, birth control, ^{and} pregnancy counselling and welfare. I really dug attempts by some of the women to develop unity and mutual respect among students and faculty at the university and working women and housewives in the community. I had graduated from college by this time and was working, so I felt a strong sense of solidarity with other women who faced the dual oppression of working at jobs and being housewives at the same time. Unfortunately, ~~membership of the women's organizations~~ ^{a lot of} ~~is not as progressive as the leadership~~ ^{as a lot of} the efforts to organize a broad base of women became isolated on the campus ^{and} I retreated to the fringes of the movement when the focus became centered on student-faculty issues.

At about this time Teko was beginning to show in practice that he was committed to struggling against his sexism, and he both

together was that we weren't afraid to struggle over our ideas. We were both open to learning from each other.

Q. Did you and Teko live together at this time?

A. ~~Yes. Even though I believed in having sex and living with people I loved, I also knew that my mother and father would freak out if they thought that I had violated their strict moral standards and was actually living with Teko. My father wanted me to be his virgin princess; at least until I was married, and then I was somebody else's problem as far as he was concerned. I didn't have my shit together enough at the time to stand up to my parents, especially around an issue so "sensitive" as their daughter's virginity. ~~and reputation~~ So I lived with a series of different women who were all basically keeping up a front for their parents while they slept with their boyfriends on the sly. Over the years my parents and I have basically just avoided struggling with each other so that now there is ~~no~~ ^{at much of a} basis for even trying to communicate.~~
 Communication.

Q. What specific changes were you undergoing at this time?

A. At first, I just felt alienated from my parents' rigid morality. But as I developed some solidarity with other women and began to work perferially with the women's movement, I got the self-confidence to begin questioning ^{a lot of} the meaningless and degrading traditions that shove women into a mold. For me, like a lot of women, this was a big step because it meant rejecting a lifetime ^{of} ~~of bullshit~~ bullshit about the myth of "womanhood." Teko ^{was} ~~was~~ a strong stimulus for me ~~in~~ in a lot of ways, but he just didn't give me the kind of support I needed. He patronized me sometimes or else

survived and the only way to bust out was to tear down the system.

I came to realize that it is important to overcome the fear of death because sometimes it can get in the way of your desire to fight for a better life. A lot of people get hung up on wanting to live forever and are willing to make all kinds of compromises, even give up their hopes and beliefs to assure their survival on the pig's terms. The comrades inside don't let fear stop them from struggling for change because they know that revolution may be their only hope to get out on the streets. By ceasing to fear death they are actually increasing the chances of survival for themselves and other poor and working people. ~~Comrade~~ ^{Comrade} ~~explained~~ ^{explained} it like this, "Revolution is an act of love to all the kind -- though the ironical paradox is in this means to ~~save~~ ^{give} life, some humans will die."

I came to see the revolution occurring in steps, each leaning in the direction of armed struggle. The people in this country have already seen that the ruling class has no intention of sharing their enormous wealth. The attacks on the Panthers in the late 60's, Wounded Knee in 1973 and FBI/CIA infiltration of revolutionary groups have demonstrated that any successful attempts by the people to seize control of their communities will be met with violent repression by the government. Guerrilla warfare in this country is increasing in intensity out of the need to bring about a new form of violence -- revolutionary violence -- to counter the state violence that continues to occur day by day on the streets against the people. A growing core or nucleus of guerrilla fighters and community organizers are escalating present conditions to end the stage of repression and as they demonstrate to the people that we are

was one of their own kind who had deserted the cause of White supremacy. They used every arbitrary rule they could pull out of the book to harass me and the brothers in the visiting room by telling me I couldn't embrace a brother or couldn't visit that day, or couldn't stand where I was standing or sit where I was sitting.

Among the prisoners, guards use racism in attempt to get rid of "troublemakers" by convincing less conscious prisoners, especially Whites, to stab Third World cons or to snitch for the reward of a few extra privileges or a parole date. Violence and fighting are instigated by the guards who use rumor, set-ups, and differential treatment to keep groups and races divided. When a fist fight breaks out on the yard, tower guards ~~take~~ ^{take} free license to aim and fire selectively at those revolutionary prisoners who struggle for unity among the Black, Brown, Indian, Asian and White prison population. That's what happened at Soledad in January 1970 when Molen, Edwards and Miller were ^{murdered}. That's what happened at Attica and these two ~~aren't~~ ^{aren't} isolated instances.

Q. What effect did your experience in the prisons have on your development as a revolutionary?

A. ~~My development as a revolutionary was accelerated when~~ The brothers in prison forced me to confront the necessity of putting theory into practice. ~~Revolution is a process that moves forward as comrades~~ ^{organizing} ~~work in the communities, carry out guerrilla actions, make mistakes,~~ ~~test out theories and ideas.~~ ~~As a result of this process,~~ ~~they developed a growing commitment to build a~~ ~~revolutionary people's army.~~ ^{They knew that I ~~wouldn't~~ ^{couldn't} walk} out of San Quentin, Solson or Soledad and pretend that I was in a different world. I could see that I lived in another type of

describe
 Q. Can you ~~XXXXXX~~ what it was like visiting these prisoners?

A. One comrade I visited was in the Adjustment Center at San Quentin. He was led into the visiting area by the Goon Squad with hands chained to his waist. He was separated from me by a partial wall that is about waist high with 3 or 4 inches of heavy wire mesh above that and bullet proof glass to the ceiling. We were forced to talk through the wire mesh because that is the only way we could hear each other with all the noise of the visiting room. But to talk through the wire mesh we had to lean so low that we couldn't see each other through the glass. If we raised our heads to look through the glass we couldn't hear each other. So a convict and his visitor are forced to make a ~~choice~~ choice between talking to each other or looking at each other through the glass and they can't do both at the same time. This choice must be made after waiting hours ~~to see each other~~ for a visit that is only 45 minutes to an hour long. My experiences were not unique. Women, children, old people, friends and the prisoners they visit find they are harassed and subjected to arbitrary rules and dehumanizing visiting conditions that show a total disregard for people's needs. Yet, in spite of these conditions, there is a beautiful form of love that's communicated even when the convicts are sealed off behind the glass. These brothers refuse to lose any of their humanity even in the brutal setting of the prison where they are treated like animals.

Because I was a White man visiting Black revolutionaries in prison, I saw how racism was directed toward me. The prison guards hated me and saw me as a "White nigger, nigger lover." I

A. The convicts I visited are revolutionaries. They fight the enemy everyday by refusing to be broken. They struggle to bring other convicts together to educate themselves and to deal with the dehumanization, brutality and the common enemy. The prisons have been a strong base of revolutionary consciousness raising where a lot of cons gain a practical and theoretical understanding of their own oppression and the means to end it. Revolutionaries inside provide leadership and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ support to comrades struggling on the streets by ^{Constantly reminding us of} ~~pointing out~~ the contradictions of fascism that are, ~~Some-~~ times, more clear cut from their side of the wall. All this makes them a dangerous threat to bourgeois society. The Adult Authority refuses to parole them. The guards and prison administrators follow suit by trying to break their spirit with threats, beatings, trumped up charges, isolation from the general prison population and murder if nothing else works.

When I talk about the comrades in prison, I do it with the hopes that people will react with anger and rage, not horror. I describe my experiences with them so other people can benefit from their example like I did and put words into actions. I hear some people talk about revolutionaries inside as if they were pitiful victims of circumstance; this kind of response makes me sick! Sisters like Marilyn Buck, Assata Shakur, Lolita Lebron and Susan Saxe and Brothers like Henry Shasha Brown, Geronimo Pratt, Russell Nagee, Doc Holiday, Herman Bell, Ossie and Bo need revolutionary support, not sympathy. They are righteous leaders who are fighting and growing stronger everyday. They don't ever give up their determination to get out ~~and~~ fight with us on the streets. Assata Acoli (Clark Squire) of the BLA said it like this, "I know I won't ever be paroled, but I also know this country won't last as long as all that time."

Q. How did you first become involved in the prisons?

A. Pete and I met some ex-cons in the Bay Area. He wanted to establish communication between revolutionaries inside prison and progressive people on the outside. Through them, we began visiting and corresponding with several convicts in various prisons throughout the state. I was scared shitless to find myself inside for the first time. The brother I was visiting that day was real cautious at first, checking me out. Right away, he asked me what I thought about racism. I had never been confronted by Blacks on this question before but, I came up with some kind of off the wall bullshit like, "I have some level of understanding of my own racism, but institutional racism is so pervasive...." The brother looked at me and said, "I want to know how racism makes you feel. I want to know on a gut level how it makes you FEEL." I realized that racism made me feel angry; it scared me and it made me feel confused because I hadn't really dealt with my own racism on a personal level. My experiences with this brother helped me open up and admit to myself that I had only understood racism from a detached intellectual perspective that ignored all the ways racism dehumanizes and divides people on a day to day basis. I hadn't considered how racism affects me -- a white woman. I see now that racism won't just tiptoe away because I admit it's there. I've got to struggle against it through awareness and constant confrontation.

Q. What were the people like that you visited in prison?

store in that community. This woman and three of her sons were falsely charged with assault on a store security guard after one of the sons had been accused of shop-lifting. Quite a few of us worked in the picket line to support demands to make the store more responsive to the community's needs and to force them to drop the charges against this woman and her sons. The boycott/picket line was successful in a lot of ways because it did create the pressure that helped Bobbie Johnson and her family get acquitted of all charges and eventually even closed the supermarket down permanently. But there were some ~~XXXXX~~ weaknesses of our tactic that became clear when we saw how other people in the community related to the picket line. Even though they were oppressed by store policies and were charged outrageous prices for food, they didn't join the picket line. During the hours that the picket line was in operation, most of the people would stay away from the store, but as soon as the line broke up, a lot of them came back to shop. Most of us realized that we had limited understanding of the kinds of tactics the community would respond to and so we were ineffective in mobilizing people.

Like many other political organizations and groups, Venceremos had a lot of trouble building ties with the people of Oakland because the organization hadn't really grown out of the community and often didn't really represent the progressive needs and interests of the community. This created a constant struggle among the members of the organization over what was the best way to work more closely with the Black, Brown, Indian, Asian, and white communities in Oakland. Eventually the organization became mobilized because of internal struggles and constant harassment by the FBI and local police.

tically, given the power of the ruling class and their unwillingness to yield that power, was through armed struggle, people's war. Venceremos ~~was a group of people who~~ ^{was} support^{ed} armed self-defense, believing that people should arm themselves and should understand that sometime they might need to use their weapons to defend their home, their children, other people that they loved and lived with. Venceremos recognized that in this country, racism is the primary contradiction that weakens and divides poor and working class people in their struggles against the ruling class. They supported the principle that unity among oppressed people can be achieved only by guaranteeing the rights of self-determination for all races and minority groups.

Altho I was never actually a member of Venceremos,
The people in ~~Venceremos~~ ^{the organization} served as a real motivating influence by encouraging me to study revolutionary theory and to put that theory into practice by participating in community struggles. Up until this time, ~~my growing awareness~~ ^{political consciousness} had seemed more like a heavy burden -- I'd looked at myself as a misfit who understood just enough to be dissatisfied, but felt powerless to change anything. Now, I began to see that political consciousness was a liberating force with a potential to actually mold and control what was happening around me. In the Oakland area, where we lived, Venceremos cadre organized self-defense classes and study groups and played a major role in supporting many community and labor struggles ~~the~~ United Farm Workers boycott, Sarah ~~boycott~~, propaganda and fund-raising work around ~~ounded~~ Yreco, prison strikes, defense of political prisoners and anti-war efforts. Some members of Venceremos went to ~~ounded~~ ^{ounded} ~~to~~ defend the occupation. Venceremos helped a North Oakland Black woman organize a boycott of a grocery

After four or five months of being pissed off, frustrated and confused, I said, "fuck this shit." I realized that I wasn't going to make a dent in changing the system as long as I tried to tackle it along and as long as I politely argued against the corporate giants, their government, their schools, their courts, their army and their police force to prove that I was right and they were wrong. The combined experience of teaching in the public schools, *coming to understand my oppression as a woman* and studying Marxist-Leninist writings brought me to the point where I ~~was~~ *saw* clearly that ~~capitalism~~ *capitalism* was totally corrupt, that socialism offered a more human alternative and that the ruling class of this country was never going to give up its power and peacefully concede to the people's desires for socialism.

XXXXXXXXXXXXX After I finished teaching school in June, 1972, Teko and I moved to the Bay Area. We wanted to find out more about an organization there called Venceremos. One of the main things that we dug about Venceremos at the time was their out-front position on armed struggle. They took a strong stand that the only way to achieve change realis-

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started to understand the relationship between sexism and class oppression. I realized that as much as I needed to struggle with Teko or any other man on a personal level, my enemy was not all men as a group. My oppression as a woman was the result of an economic system, US imperialism, and a society and culture that are defined and controlled by men. Sexism like racism, functions as a tool of those in power and permeates all levels of society to keep people divided, passive and confused.

Both Teko and I were heavily influenced by the events of the late 60's. People were being beaten up in the streets of Chicago. Martin Luther King was assassinated. Cambodia was invaded by the US government resulting in mass demonstrations on the campuses and in the cities and the murders at Kent State and Jackson State. Black Panthers were murdered in Chicago, Oakland and LA. I was generally confused and pessimistic because I ~~still~~ ^{still} had questions but no answers. I could see that a lot of things were fucked up about this society and my personal way of living, but change seemed like such an overwhelming process because the US government was totally opposed to the people's desires for a better way of life.

In the Fall of 1971 Teko and I linked up with some progressive people in Bloomington. We all studied and talked about the struggles of the people ~~in the Soviet Union and China~~ ^{throughout the world} to destroy imperialism and develop socialism. I really ~~ENH~~ got high reading about the freedom fighters in Vietnam, kicking the fat ass of US imperialism. But, my intellectual notions of revolution and my bourgeois longings for peace and an easy victory held me back from accepting the historically-proven fact that the conditions for change in this country can be built only through armed struggle. I still had the unrealistic dream that revolution could occur through gradual change in the consciousness of millions of Americans, who would then democratically "elect" socialism.

Geline was a beautiful example of determination. At first, she was so physically weak that she could only do two or three push-ups, but she worked at it everyday until she was doing 5 sets of 20 finger tip push-ups. She boosted everyone's morale by always attacking problems with a positive attitude.

Zoya, like some of the rest of us, didn't have much practice in being physically aggressive because she had always been a very gentle person, but one day at the Concord safehouse, she proved she really had her shit together. The doorbell rang; Zoya looked out through the peephole and saw a boy of about 13 or 14, who she assumed was the paperboy. When she opened the door, she was looking down the barrel of a .22 in the hands of a ~~young~~ young kid. Zoya batted that kid's arm, forcing him to lose his grip on the gun; then she spun the kid around and kicked him off the front porch. In fact, just to give you an idea of the strength and abilities of the sisters in the SLA, I should tell you that the assault team for the Foster operation was made up of two women. Two righteous female soldiers ^{assassinated} ~~at~~ Foster and ^{wounded} Blackburn! (over)

Part of developing an aggressive attitude comes from developing technical skills -- knowing how to ~~KN~~ be a good shot and to shoot first ~~and fast~~; learning forms of the martial arts, how to use a knife how to crouch, roll and dive. We had to ^{acquire} ~~learn~~ aggressive nervous reflexes. By this, I mean the ~~KMI~~ ability to make good offensive decisions in a combat situation; to react quickly and wisely. We plan each combat operation as extensively and in as much detail as we can, but we prepare for the unexpected by knowing that we must be ready to improvise and do anything to insure our success and survival. Our lives depend on our ability to think fast, remain ~~KMI~~ flexible and act more aggressively than our enemy.

2. What struggles did you and the other comrades of the SLA have to go through to train yourselves as guerrilla soldiers?

A. All the women and men in the SLA had to develop military skills, physical strength and coordination, and most important -- an aggressive^{offensive} mentality. I started out, like many of the other comrades, with a high level of determination and commitment based on my political understanding, but I didn't have very many practical skills. To deal with these weaknesses in the cell, we held regular classes to learn various skills; we studied and had collective discussions on why we are fighting, what we are fighting for and what our responsibilities as guerrilla soldiers are to the people; we put into practice what we learned either through drills and military games or through our combat actions. We all dug working together to help each other, but the sisters were our real inspiration because of the rapid progress we were each making.

~~When I was first learning how to shoot I was intimidated by guns, and I started to get defeatist. ~~being told that I was a weak woman and that I was not a soldier.~~ Teko and Kehjoh both kicked me in the ass. They explained how each piece operated and helped me practice. For me, learning to be good with a gun was twice as hard because I had ~~been~~ brought up to fit the stereotype of a weak and feminine woman; I had to make myself and to work twice as hard to get over my conditioning. Confidence and determination are the two attitudes that can help a person overcome any weaknesses. Once I gained both, the skill of learning how to shoot didn't seem as mystifying at all.~~

Some of the comrades helped me.

guerrilla warfare and subversion are organizing. The brothers believe we are waiting for the survival of guerrilla warfare is not an alternative to mass organization in the communities, schools, universities and places of work. Rather, these two are different forms of revolutionary struggle that use complementary tactics to educate, mobilize and unite people.

I began to understand history as a process that grows out of the efforts of strong and determined people. The course of history will be changed if all of us fight for a better kind of life, but if we wait for a lot of "super ~~men~~ ^{women & ~~men~~} or "border women" ~~guerrilla~~ ~~salvador~~, the war will never come and the people will never be free.

Sometimes the brothers inside ~~get righteously angry~~ and lose all patience and faith in people who have an advanced revolutionary understanding of fascism in this country, but who fail to respond. I could relate to their anger and frustration because I could see clearly that the ruling class offers only false promises while they continue to threaten our life and means of survival. So why do we continue to hope that somehow things will magically get better or that maybe violence won't be necessary or that some super-guerrilla will fight for us? It just won't happen and meanwhile Tyrone Guyton, Alberto Terrones, Claude Reese and Ray Ray are dead. Ray Ray was murdered by the prison goons in his cell at Folsom because they couldn't break him any other way. Fascism is here now as George Jackson reminded us several years ago.

It's no secret that several of the White people that eventually formed the nucleus of the SLA came together because they worked with and learned from revolutionaries in prison. There's a strong trust that grows between people based on their common commitment to brothers and sisters inside coupled with a serious determination to act as well as talk revolution on the streets. I think that each of us would say that we learned the necessity of total commitment and the importance of never compromising with the enemy from the comrades in prison.

I came to see the revolution occurring by steps. Guerrilla warfare in this country is ~~increasing in intensity~~ ^{out of the need} ~~as small cells of~~ people study, train themselves and act to bring about a new form of violence -- revolution violence -- to counter the state violence that occurs day by day on the streets against the people. ~~The~~ ^A growing core or nucleus of guerrilla fighters ~~are~~ ^{and underground} escalating present conditions toward the stage of people's revolutionary war as they demonstrate to the people that we are in a current state of war against imperialism and that we can be successful if we join together to ~~fight~~ ^{resist} following the principles of guerrilla warfare and ~~revolutionary~~ ^{aboveground} mass ~~struggle~~ ^{organizing}. The brothers helped me understand that the strategy of guerrilla warfare is not an alternative to ~~organizing~~ ^{mass} in the communities, schools, universities and places of work. Rather, ~~these~~ ^{these different} forms of revolutionary ~~struggle~~ ^{struggle} ~~are~~ ^{that use} complementary tactics ~~to educate~~ ^{to educate} ~~and mobilize~~ ^{and mobilize} people, ~~educate and unite people around~~ ^{unite}

The ruling class through its bourgeois feminist mouthpieces and CIA operatives like Gloria Steinem praises the success of a few women who "make-it" in the cut-throat business world and projects them as an indication of the responsiveness of the system. For too many middle class women, feminism is a fad, a search for self fulfillment in isolation from the plight of the mass of poor and oppressed.

Bourgeois feminists often ask the question: "Why don't poor women, especially Black and Brown women, relate to the women's movement?" These feminists fail to understand that it is impossible for poor and working women to relate to a women's movement whose hard core membership of White middle class women doesn't make any attempt to understand the level of oppression of women and men in the lower classes who are oppressed by their class position ~~KKKXIII~~ and by racism as well as sexism. This segment of the women's movement has been coopted by reforms that focus on one narrow issue or another, ~~feminist/ socialist/~~ and divert attention away from the need for a socialist revolution.

Some radical feminists put forward a separatist ideology that sees all men as the enemy. All the sisters of the SLA oppose this strategy for change. We see that both ^wmen and ~~w~~omen suffer from the oppression of US imperialism and we know that sexism can't be struggled against unless ^wmen and ~~w~~omen work together. At the same time, we recognize that it's often important for women to form separate cells and organizations or to form separate caucuses within their particular groups to deal with specific problems resulting from sexism or to accomplish particular objectives that can be achieved more successfully or more practically through separation. Working separately is often the foundation for building a stronger form of unity between women and men.

2. One last question, what do you think of the present day women's movement in this country?

A. The women's movement has been a strong force in building political awareness and unity among women and in moving the entire revolutionary struggle forward. Right now there seem to be two directions within the movement. Revolutionary women understand sexism in relation to class and race oppression and are taking a leading role in supporting revolutionary armed struggle as the means to fight for the liberation of women and to destroy US imperialism. These women see that revolution in this country will never be successful unless feminist revolution is an integral part of the entire liberation struggle. They recognize the priority of developing leadership potential in women on all levels of struggle. Progressive sisters have played a significant role in organizing effective community programs like daycare, abortion clinics, family planning and welfare rights. Agitation at work places has increased women's determination to fight for their right to work and get paid a decent wage. Women have organized newspapers, radio programs, demonstrations and rallies to communicate information about their struggles and to build ties with women everywhere. Women have ~~offed nips~~, placed ^{at first, offed pigs} bombs, and developed strengths as guerrilla soldiers. Revolutionary sisters will always be a leading revolutionary force because only in this way can we gain our true liberation from sexist oppression and insure the building of a socialist society based on the strengths of both women and men.

On the other hand bourgeois elements of the women's movement try to eliminate women's oppression by finding more places for them within the imperialist system and by instituting reforms that blur women's oppression and lead to passive acceptance of US imperialism.

↓ It's hard for them ~~to~~ to understand that female passivity ~~is not~~ and dependence is not part of "women's nature" and that women are ^{in fact} ready to do anything necessary to fight for their liberation. (These pigs consistently attribute revolutionary acts to men.)

Threat: n. ny

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

... in the ...

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1038.

Jim

As women, we have no desire to define our leadership role as
simply filling the shoes of male revolutionaries/^{and taking over for the}-- this would be
tokenism and ~~imitation~~ a carbon copy imitation of male weaknesses
as well as strengths. Instead we are re-defining the roles of both
women and men and are developing a strategy to ensure the liberation
of all women. Because we identify ^{our} ~~the~~ economic system as the founda-
tion of sexist culture, institutions, attitudes and roles and because
we focus our struggle on the destruction of this system, we are

a dangerous threat to the ruling class. We are surveilled, hunted,
arrested and murdered by the pigs. They try to use collaborators
like Jane Alpert to demoralize us. The latest exposure of Gloria
Steinem as a CIA agent within the women's movement shows that the
ruling class will stop at nothing to defuse our strength, divide us
from each other and sabotage our struggles. But a ruling class
agent like Gloria Steinem or a weak woman like Jane Alpert who turns
informer can never counteract the proud example of Assata Shakur,
Bernardine Dorn, Susan Saxe, the women of Vietnam, China, Cuba and
throughout the world

origin to a minimum security area to work on the boiler there. The guard with him fucked up and split for a short period, so Jin took off. He jumped over an unguarded fence, jumped 13 or 14 miles and then hid out the rest of the night. At daylight, he got some food and clothes from a Chicano family in a near-by community. Then he called some folks in the Bay Area who he had gotten to know through their support of the Black Cultural Association, a convict organization at Vacaville. These people seemed to have serious commitments to revolution and had talked with him about escaping before, so all he could do was hope that they weren't jiving him. The comrades came and got him. At first we dealt with his survival needs -- clothes, a safe place to live, money. Then we got down to talking about our political ideas, what we could do together and how to go about it.

Jin didn't know any of us too well, but he developed trust for the White comrades because they really stuck by him, because ^{they recognized the} importance of following revolutionary Third World leadership, because they understood the necessity of engaging in guerrilla warfare and because they supported the struggles by Blacks and other Third World people for self-determination. His trust for Whites didn't lessen his love for Black people or his commitment to ~~the~~ the Black liberation struggle; instead he began to recognize the role he could play in building practical unity between progressive Whites and Third World revolutionaries particularly Blacks.

Many of the revolutionary Blacks that Jin first came in contact with in the Bay Area didn't trust his white comrades. They wanted to see proof that the White sisters and brothers wouldn't fall back on their race and class privilege to escape from the struggle when the bullets started to fly. The Blacks weren't even sure

In general how did the straight world deal with the SLA?

1. ~~Answer~~ They sensationalized our actions because they knew it would sell alot of newspapers and also they knew it would distort the perception of what the SLA and ^{its} ~~their~~ actions ~~was~~ are all about. The media tried to make the SLA sound like a bizarre, unreal type of ~~(-2-)~~ ^{"happenin} ~~thing~~ that had caught the public imagination like a fad, but would magically disappear in the future like the hoop hoop craze. ~~Answer~~ They played on people's racism ~~and~~ class ^{ism & Sexism} in attempt to create fear and confusion around the SLA. The media called us terrorists and fanatics seeming to indicate by this that we were sub-human or super-human, but at any rate, not real and not sane. ~~XXXXX~~ But people who are hungry and who went to get the food didn't see the SLA as crazy, irrational monsters. They see us as brothers and sisters who love the people and struggle to act in the interests of the people. As revolutionaries succeed in communicating this to the people the word "terrorist" takes on a new meaning. Instead of inspiring fear, terrorists become practically defined as those who terrorize the ruling ^{class} -- the freedom fighters.

Bourgeois propagandists often try to link the term "terrorist" ~~with~~ the term "suicide". Vietnamese guerrillas infiltrating US military perimeters and air bases are called suicide squads. They use the same terminology when referring to Palestinian commandos and to our comrades who died fighting in Los Angeles. From a bourgeois perspective they can't comprehend the revolutionary act of fighting to the death for one's freedom. The imperialists ~~XXXXX~~ explain the Vietnamese soldier's dedication to the fight as opium induced fervor or a quirk of the Oriental

31A

The underground and ^{a lot of} ~~people~~ ^{in the community} ~~on the street~~ interacted all this hasn't been providing the ALA with righteous support and constructive criticism. In spite of tactical differences its clear that practical unity exists among underground elements and all other people who actively support armed struggle. The messages and actions of these revolutionary brothers and sisters represent a form of solidarity that is beautiful because it serves to strengthen the revolutionary movement. We dig all feedback that is in the spirit of coming together.

used for this purpose are at the very least egotistical fools and at the very most they are outright collaborators with the enemy. I mean, it's easy to talk a good line, but when it comes down to laying your ass on the line it becomes pretty clear who's ~~XXXX~~ giving and who's for real. It was a concrete lesson in bourgeois reactionarism for the people to see so-called leftists like Bruce Franklin and Angela Davis jump at the chance to condemn the SLA. The SLA was a threat to their left leadership positions because of Angela and Bruce's refusal to adapt to the changing conditions and new tactics of the movement. Instead of putting a top priority on building strength and unity among the left they functioned to create divisions so that they could maintain their positions as spokespeople for the revolution. When maintaining a leadership position becomes the focus of action instead of furthering overall objectives of the struggle, then leadership becomes reactionary and opportunist. We expect to be attacked by our enemies and constructively supported and criticized by our comrades. When Angela was being harassed, framed and fucked over by the pigs, the media never gave her an opportunity to say shit in defense of the racist, anti-communist hysteria splashed across the front pages. But at that time, many individuals and groups saw through all this bullshit and came together to support her. She was seen as a militant leader then and rightfully so. It's ironic to see that several years later, she's given broad press coverage because she is saying what the ruling class wants to hear, what in fact is necessary for them to be successful in keeping revolutionaries divided and in keeping the people confused. Angela's unrevolutionary position around the SLA and her failure to stick by Buchell have destroyed a lot of her credibility among struggling people.

communique we indicated that WAFAC should chair the coalition and
 they took on this responsibility. WAFAC did an incredible job.
 They continually dealt with problems ~~XXXX~~ of low quality food:
 they sent truckloads of food back because it wasn't fit for human
 consumption. They ~~struggled to see~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ that the food was distributed in a dig-
 nified way/that ~~there were~~ more distribution centers ^{we} ~~opened~~. They
 exposed the pive of Ludlow Kramer and other PIN spokespeople. And
 in the end they submitted a report that analyzed and criticized the
 whole program, comparing what the SLA had actually demanded ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
 with what the Hearsts had ~~provided~~ provided.

Other groups firmed up their support of the food program follow-
 ing the leadership of WAFAC. Some of them had sort of dragged their
 feet in the beginning ~~because~~ ^{afraid} because they were ~~chicken shit~~ ^{or} ~~moderate~~
 because the pigs were harrassing them in attempt to dig up SLA connec-
 tions. When it became clear that people in the community were behind
 the food program, these groups responded positively.

Leadership elements of other organizations can only be characterized
 as serving ruling class interests because they used the opportunity
 of the publicity around the SLA to rush their own political positions,
 to attack the SLA and to support the media propaganda that left forces
 in this country are divided and confused. Their positions got more
 and more difficult to maintain ^{though} when they realized what widespread
 support the SLA had built up. I mean, it was pretty hard to denounce
~~XXXXXX~~ armed struggle when the SLA was demonstrating in practice
 how successful armed tactics were in serving the needs of the people
 and in fuck'ing with the pigs.

It's obvious that it was in the interest of the pigs to isolate
 the SLA from their support and to represent the left as being divided
 and confused. ⁶ Individuals and groups who allowed themselves to be

4. How did the SLA relate to some of the Leftist political groups that criticized the SLA initially and then tried to use the food distribution program for their own political advantage?

A. We understand that there was opportunism on the part of the leadership elements of some groups. But for the most part we saw that a lot of politically conscious people understood the poverty and hunger of folks in their communities and demonstrated that they weren't going to let rigs like the Hearsts and Kramers keep the people from getting food that was rightfully theirs. They realized that they couldn't rely on the FHN program to feed the people so they were going to have to seize control to serve the needs of the community.

Our original demands concerning the food program suggested that community groups come together in a coalition to oversee the distribution. ~~XX~~
~~XX~~ We named about 25 groups that we knew about and that we felt should provide leadership in seeing that the Hearsts met our demands. ~~XX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We weren't sure what the response of each of these groups would be -- whether they would feel threatened by the SLA or would support the SLA in their demands for food. But we figured that by putting out a call to serve the community, we would learn alot about various groups and so would the people.

The Western Addition Project Area Committee (WAPAC) stepped into a leadership role right from the beginning. ~~WAPAC~~ Their chairperson, Arnold Tomson, came forward and said that hungry people must be fed by any means necessary, and that WAPAC was willing to help set up food distribution centers and oversee the program. In our next

it's eat. ^A ~~The most~~ blatant example of this was at the distribution sites in Chinatown where there was no rice for the people. The disorganization of the whole program affected the aged and the disabled the most because they couldn't wait in long lines and they couldn't travel across the city to pick up their food. The PIN program never made provisions for these people, but some community organizations provided transportation and assistance.

The quality of the food was ^{horrible} ~~shit~~. PIN tried to pass off hog feed as split peas. They distributed low grade government surplus commodities. They distributed canned foods that resembled dog food, but had been re-labeled as canned corn or something else.

- They came out with stories that trucks of meat had been hijacked and that's why there wasn't much meat in the distributions. One whole truckload of meat was such poor quality that it had to be returned because it wasn't fit for human consumption. Ludlow Kramer, the head of PIN, came on TV and made all kinds of speeches about what great food was included in each distribution; then reporters would interview people who were carrying away bags of food and find out that all they got was a few cabbages, some bisquick and some crackers or some shit.

The Hearsts good faith gesture was a rip off. Since they were determined not to expose the extent of their wealth and power, they only did the minimum necessary to maintain their public image as concerned parents. The brothers and sisters who stood in long lines with their children knew who their enemy was because the whole food program made clear that the Hearsts had no respect for their hunger and suffering. It was also clear to these people that the GLA had love and concern for them and was struggling to force the Hearsts to comply with demands that would serve the needs of the people.

And at least this food was at the expense of a ~~rich~~ rich ~~rich~~ instead of poor and working people.

They weren't insensitive to Tania's plight as a prisoner, but they knew that they were being fucked over by people like her old man and they knew that they had a right to the food. Let me read what the Black Liberation Army had to say in response the "blood money" ploy:

Every time you eat fruit, drink coffee, ride in automobiles, and wear diamond rings, you are exacting an exchange of blood money, for blood products. So how can you say that you will not take blood money, it is so much a part of your condition that if you didn't you would die of starvation.

~~I mean, anything that's produced and sold under imperialism is at the expense of poor and working people.~~

The Hearsts and their PIN program continually ~~tried~~ tried to create divisions and hostility among poor people and to make it hard for them to get their food. They tried to play on feelings of White supremacy and racist fears by making poor Whites feel like they were too "good" to take the food. In fact one reporter sarcastically asked one young White man what he was doing standing in line for food. like it was surprising to see that Whites are poor and hungry just like Blacks. The SLA stipulated distribution of food in ~~Black~~ Black, ~~Chicano~~ Chicano, Indian, Asian and White communities, but at first PIN set up distribution sites in predominantly Black areas. PIN knew it would be difficult for people to pick up food outside of their own communities and they knew Whites in particular wouldn't go to sites in the Black community. By the end of the program there were distribution sites in the Mission, Chinatown, the Fillmore, Hunter's Point, Oakland, Richmond, San Jose, East Palo Alto, and Santa Rosa; but initially there was a lot of resentment that only Blacks were getting the food. The PIN organizers were so racist they had no respect for the kind of food certain groups and national-

her old man used to ignore our demands while he attempted to maintain control over public sympathy.

The Hearsts set up the People In Need (PIN) charity to organize the food distribution. PIN decided that what the people needed was \$3 worth of food each month for a year -- a supplemental food program; as if \$5 a family can make \$6 worth of cabbages and be no go very far. The SLA came down hard on this because we know that people didn't want the insulting demoralization of standing in line each month for some measly shit that wasn't nearly enough to deal with their problems. PIN finally got together four food distributions, none of which had \$70 worth of food. The program was totally disorganized. PIN made a big deal about how many thousands of volunteers they had working in sympathy with "Patty's plight". Then it turned out they had to delay the first distribution because they didn't even have the people to package up the food and distribute it in an organized way. In Oakland, they tried to throw food to a crowd of people one item at a time. The people just wouldn't tolerate being treated like animals and went on the offensive. They threw the food back, bricked the food trucks and then looted a big grocery store near-by.

Before the first distribution, the media tried to convince poor people that it was somehow immoral to take food purchased with what they called "blood money." They implied that poor people were too proud to take food gotten by kidnapping a rich girl. The media played up interviews with ~~right wingers~~ ^{People} who ranted and raved that they'd starve before they'd take the food, and manufactured stories of welfare recipients who ~~contributed money~~ ^{Contributed money} to Randolph and Catherine Hearst to help them pay for the food. ^{Mar} People on the street didn't fall for this shit and thousands came for food because they were hungry.

Q. It's pretty obvious that the SLA was not satisfied with the way the Hearsts carried out the food distribution program. Could you explain why?

A. We were totally dissatisfied with it because the Hearsts continually tried to sabotage the program and fuck over the people. We demanded that \$70 worth of top quality meats, produce and other food be distributed.

Our intention was that people would only have to go one time to pick up their food, but that the distribution would be carried out over several weeks period of time to allow people to come at their own convenience.

We stipulated that the food be distributed in a dignified, organized and efficient way.

We felt that there should be enough distribution points so people wouldn't have to wait in long lines. We stipulated that there should be no rigs or media in the community to monitor the food program or to harass and insult the people. Eventually, due to the Hearsts' lack of cooperation, we stated that \$6 million worth of food was the minimum the SLA could accept for the people as a good faith gesture. The Hearsts essentially distorted and manipulated our demands in ways that showed they had no respect ~~for~~ for the people and no concern for their daughter's safety.

From our research on the Hearst fortune, we knew that \$6 million was not an unrealistic demand. Also we understood that anyone with the Hearsts' influence and power could obtain \$6 million worth of food for a fraction of that cost by utilizing personal connections in government, agribusiness and the food industry. But instead of cooperating, the Hearsts chose to manipulate and lie. They used tax and financial experts to help justify their intention of providing only \$2 million worth of food. Tania explained earlier the sick ploys

~~other folks like them who are fucked over by pigs like the Hearsts.~~

The brother in the community told us that when he was standing in the lines waiting for food, all of a sudden it hit him how many other people were in the same situation he was in. There was a real closeness in the lines and people talked to each other about what was happening with them and about how to get it together to make their lives better and about the SLA. The food program also opened up communication between community groups and organizations who came together to help organize the distribution in their areas. The thousands of people who came to get food were proof of the widespread existence of poverty. The ruling class couldn't ignore or deny that these people existed any longer and there was a real feeling of power on the street when folks realized that the ruling class could be forced to pay for the suffering of poor people.

I think a lot of people related to the SLA because we did something that affected their daily lives. The trusted us because we risked our lives for the people and in return, many gave us support and assistance. ^{Let me read a letter that} one welfare mother wrote ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ to the Berkeley

Barb After the May 17 shoot-out when our 6 comrades were murdered:

I am a welfare mother of four and the SLA got us through a very hard time this year. Our rent went up, but not the allotment; and food went up, but not our food stamps. Anyone who has to put the SLA down is pitiful in my eyes. ~~and~~ makes it easier to understand what happened to make these people so alone. Sometimes I think about what I would have done if I'd had a chance to help them, and I know I would have done what I could.

X
I don't have any delusions that a few bags of food saved people from starvation. For poor people we do know that any little bit helps. And anytime we can ~~do~~ ^{do some} thing to help the people survive, we will do it.

that it would provide some relief to poor people and would point
out some heavy contradictions. I mean, people have been hungry for
a long time and have organized themselves to demand better living
conditions, but the ruling class has consistently ignored them, fucked
them over even more and destroyed any organized resistance. But when
the SLA forced a change in the balance of power that made it in the
interest of the ruling class, in the interest of Randolph ~~and~~
~~the~~ Hearst in particular, to feed the people, 2 million worth
of food was distributed in a little over a month.

Our demands were very specific. We stated when, where and how
the food was to be distributed to assure quality and quantity of
food and to make the distribution as easy as possible for the people
receiving food. We demanded that food be distributed in seven
different areas in the state, but the Hearsts distorted this demand
by saying that we wanted them to feed all the poor people in Calif-
ornia at a cost of 400 million. Then the media laid out some sta-
tistics on poverty and hunger in California in attempt to show how
outrageous the SLA ~~was~~ ^{was} to expect one ~~helpless~~ ^{helpless} rich guy,
Randolph Hearst, to feed all 6 million of California's poor. But
instead of making the SLA look crazy, the facts spoke for themselves
and emphasized how fucked up this economic system is. I mean, it
was a shock for most people to consider that between one third and
one fourth of California's population is made up of poor people.
And the contradictions got even greater as the SLA, the underground
media and even the straight media exposed the Hearst family -- their
lifestyle, their financial holdings, ~~and their power.~~

The whole food distribution created a feeling of solidarity among
poor people. ~~and it was the only time that the SLA was able to~~

Q. What were the political effects of this decision?

A. It was an incredible inspiration to the people that the SLA and Tania had come together. The guerrillas and the people had gained another freedom fighter and Tania became an example of the potential in people to overcome the weaknesses of their background and commit themselves to struggle against the inhumanity of the ruling class. Tania's decision to stay affirmed the love and humanity of revolutionaries and was proof of what a strong person Tania herself is. The ruling class reacted with utter disbelief and silence at first; then ~~XXX~~ they launched into all their bullshit about brainwashing and mind control. They refused to believe that Tania could ~~change so much that she could see~~ change ~~the~~ the corruption of her family and the ruling class.

Q. How did the SLA come up with the idea of the food distribution program? *and what were the political effects of the program?*

A. We wanted to do something to demonstrate to poor and working people that we are acting in their interests. Revolutionaries in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and other places have used political kidnappings to get huge ransoms that serve the needs of the people. We took their example and applied it to our conditions in this country. Also as we said before, the food program was intended as a good faith gesture from the Hearsts that would allow the SLA to test ~~XXX~~ how far we could successfully push the ruling class toward releasing our comrades Casco and Bo.

We knew the food program would ~~not~~ end starvation, but we knew

Right away Ossie and Bo got locked up in the Adjustment Center at San Quentin because the pigs decided the county jail wasn't secure enough. Then the prison moon squad tried to intimidate the two comrades and break their spirit. Their food was drugged; their cells were filthy and covered with shit, piss, dried up food and other garbage. They were taken on a so-called tour of the gas chamber where the pigs hurled threats and insults at them, saying "this is where you're going to end up." The prison guards tried to set them up for a stabbing or a beating, but there was so much solidarity between the two brothers and the other prisoners that the pigs had to beat them up themselves. Ossie and Bo aren't unique examples. Their treatment in jail and prison is no different than that of thousands of revolutionaries (POW's) who're awaiting trial and serving sentences. Brothers and sisters like them, are a dangerous threat to the ruling class because they represent a total negation of White supremacy and an affirmation of revolutionary unity.

We know the ruling class is determined to use their control of the courts and prisons to railroad these two ^{and} or murder them. Ossie and Bo have been ~~charged with~~ ^{convicted of} the Foster assassination even though ~~no one~~ ^{all} witness, ~~Blackburn, who consistently identified the~~ ^{including} ~~them at the scene.~~ ^{could not place either of} ~~as accomplices in being Black.~~ As soon as the comrades were captured and linked with the SLA, Blackburn did an about face and ~~changed his story to say he saw two White men.~~ ~~acknowledging~~

Actually Ossie and Bo ~~are on trial~~ ^{were found guilty} because they are revolutionaries and because they are members of the SLA. But nothing the pigs can do will ever ^{stop} ~~stop~~ these two soldiers from ~~continuing~~ continuing to fight. They're using their imprisonment and trials to educate people about this decaying system of injustice. They ~~are~~ called their trial a ...

they had tried to prevent Malcolm X, King, George Jackson, the Black Panthers and the SLA from inspiring the people to struggle. Since the pigs couldn't find a way to kill him, they used one of the few tactics available to them -- their propaganda machine.

We couldn't discount the influence that this barrage of lies and distortions might have on the people. But we also realized that the ~~best~~ best way to defeat it was not to engage in endless debate, but to continue to carry out revolutionary armed actions that would allow the people to judge the SLA for themselves.

INSERT FOSTER

Q. What effect did the arrest of Russ Little and Joe Reniro have on the SLA?

A. We were fucking pissed off that the pigs had our two brothers, and we all made a commitment at that time to come back strong in spite of our setback. One of these days revolutionaries will be coming to ~~help~~ ^{help} those comrades ~~escape~~ ^{escape} because no prison is strong enough to hold them. Like John Dillinger said, "its an exercise in futility" for the pigs.

The experience of losing two strong and beautiful brothers brought all of us in the SLA to a new level of awareness about what we had to be prepared to do if we intended to survive and be successful. We pulled ourselves tighter together as a unit and we increased our teamwork, our seriousness, our discipline and our aggressiveness. Learning from mistakes & setbacks ~~was~~ ^{has} always of driving the point home so fucking hard you don't ever forget. We saw how revolutionaries can never afford to make even the smallest mistake or neglect even a minor detail. We saw how our survival hinged on maintaining an offensive mentality at all times and how we could never let down our guard.

1. What was the reaction of the ruling class and other cell members when the capitalist media fabricated stories to discredit the SIA and undermine Cin's leadership?

A. We all got pretty disgusted at the ~~same~~ tricks the ruling class ^{media} pulled. They used the multi-racial composition of the SIA to play on the racism ^{& Sexism} of their readers, saying first that Cin lured White women into revolution by fucking them good; then reversing the story to say that Cin was not a leader at all; he was only a figure-head being front off by White women, who were called the real theoreticians and leaders. Tim Findley, a San Francisco Chronicle reporter thought he had come up with the answer when he wrote that plum wine was the source of Cin's revolutionary fervor and inspiration. Media propaganda really backfired when the jive motherfuckers ran down Cin's background and criminal record, hoping to convince Amerikkka that he was a violent ~~XXXX~~ criminal with no concern for people on the street and no revolutionary consciousness. But Cin's past life was so much like the experiences of lots of other poor and working people that they could dig where he was coming from. Cin had a wife and six kids. He'd had a lot of degrading and dehumanizing jobs and when he couldn't feed the kids and pay the bills, he did burglaries and other rip-offs. People on the street related to media reports by saying, "Hey, Cin's just like one of us; he reminds me of my old man, my father, my brother."

Then the conspiracy freaks went to work saying that the success of the SIA could only be explained because Cin was a police informer or he was a CIA patsy and other SIA members were CIA operatives. You can see how desperate the pigs were. They couldn't let the people rally behind the leadership of Cin and the SIA in the same way

asked; I'd just hit back." Cin and Kahjoh had some struggles because of Kahjoh's style of speaking. Kahjoh came from an upper middle class family and at times, this came out in the intellectual words he used. Cin was always jamming Kahjoh to make him aware of the fact that poor and working people could only trust the guerrillas if they understood us and felt we weren't giving them alot of verbal jive.

The thing that pissed Cin off the most was when he thought his comrades weren't ~~being enough of~~ ~~aggressive enough~~ or struggling hard. He knew that some of the comrades had a tendency to get frustrated when things got rough, and Cin didn't waste any time in letting them know that they better prepare themselves for some hard times because the life of a guerrilla soldier was never going to get any easier and there definitely wasn't any glory to it.

We all

~~we~~ really dug a good struggle where comrades were ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ coming out with strong opinions and saying right out front why they thought ~~XX~~ a particular idea was correct. But *as a group we couldn't tolerate* ~~personal~~ bickering or intellectual debate where comrades were being overly polite to the point of not even saying what they meant or where someone was trying to sound authoritative when they didn't know what the fuck they were talking about or where comrades got off in long drawn out discussions that turned into ego battles over nit-picking points. When shit like that happened we ^{tried to} deal with it in the group so it didn't continue.

get bogged down in the present. He knew that revolutions will never have a crystalball, but he also knew that victory depends on our ability to create the future from the present and the past.

The ~~brothers~~ ^{Sisters} and ~~sisters~~ ^{brothers} in the SIA followed Cin's example in developing new strengths. The SIA can continue to be a strong force only if each of us becomes stronger. We all recognize that the best form of leadership is not a static hierarchy, but rather an objective recognition of strength and ability that serve as examples to other comrades.

Q. Were there ever any conflicts due to racial, cultural or class differences between Cin and the White members of the SIA?

A. Of course there were conflicts some times, but all of us were committed to helping each other be better people, so the conflicts were not divisive; they were a basis for struggling. Within our cell we were demanding with each other. I mean, racist attitudes, ^{sexist} ^{attitudes} and bourgeois weaknesses were not allowed to slide. Working in the same cell with Third World comrades broadened the political ^{perspective} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of the Whites and broke down a lot of bourgeois misconceptions around the needs and interests of Third World communities.

Cin and the other Third World comrades helped the Whites become more conscious of the words we used, our mannerisms, our reactions, our way of relating to each other -- all the unconscious manifestations of a racist, bourgeois ~~background~~ ^{Culture}. One time, Cin came up and jabbed Celina in the shoulder with his fist. He did it hard enough to hurt and then waited for her reaction. She kind of sputtered and said, "What the fuck are you doing?" Then he said, "If someone did that to me, I'd hit them back with no hesitation and no questions

strengthened the thinking of the other comrades and helped us all in the right direction, counterbalancing any tendencies toward impractical risks, lack of audaciousness and under-estimation of our own abilities or those of the pigs. Like when we started to plan an expropriation in April all of us came up with ideas of what to hit, but Cin was the ~~XXXX~~ first one to consider doing a bank. The more we analyzed our firepower, our skills, the number of people we had and our need for a large amount of money, we knew we could do a bank. In planning the operation, Cin helped the group maintain a focus on speed and force. The success of the final plan was the result of collective effort that ^{incorporated} ~~XXXXXX~~ these two principles.

Cin was a ^{Beautiful example of self reliance.} ~~member who was very much into the operation~~. In fact he taught himself to shoot. He had been in prison for five years and hadn't picked up a gun in all that time. When he got out he couldn't go to the range to shoot because he was a fugitive. So, he practiced inside the pad -- aiming and pointing his piece in front of the mirror. Later when he did have a chance to take some target practice, he proved to be the best shot in the cell. He also taught himself how to weld so he could repair and modify weapons. At one point when we lost contact with our armorer, he taught himself how to machine the pieces necessary to turn semi-automatic carbines into fully automatic assault rifles.

Initially some of us were unprepared and unrealistic. Cin took the practical and serious approach by laying out the hard facts of survival. If weX were going to survive, we had to earn the respect of the people by being better than our enemy in everything we did. We had to be stronger; we had to be better shots; we had to be more flexible; we had to understand the pigs better than they could everX understand us; we had to speak to the people's daily needs and interests.

that ^{the} Whites wouldn't sell Cin out by turning him into the pigs as an escaped con. All of us in the SLA realized that the only way to prove ~~that Whites could be trusted~~ ^{the potential of white revolutionaries} was by demonstrating commitment through armed actions. After the Foster operation, the ties between the SLA and Third World revolutionaries grew stronger and practical cooperation between groups increased with each of our ^{following} ~~future~~ operations.

Q. ~~When was Cin elected leader of the SLA?~~ Can you explain how leadership is selected and how it functions within the SLA?

A. Cinque was general field marshal of the SLA because he gained the respect and confidence of all other cadre b. proving through practice that he was the most advanced on both the political and the military levels. We stake our lives and our potential for victory on the quality of our leaders. For this reason, leadership can never be based on tokenism, egotism or authoritarianism. Cin didn't select himself and the other comrades didn't elect him by majority vote. Our commitment to follow Cin's leadership grew out of working together. We gained confidence in his military decisions based on his aggressiveness, his common sense, his flexibility and his practicality. He was the political leader of the SLA because of his consistently correct analysis of present and past conditions and because of his skill in giving the SLA and the entire revolutionary movement a sound strategic direction for the future.

The SLA upholds the principle of collectivity as a way of organizing our daily lives as well as a valuable method of decision-making. Cin's leadership actually strengthened our collective input, by pushing all of us to develop our revolutionary leadership potential. There were lots of times where Cin laid the groundwork that

Q 2176 - 2182

A close look at the progression of events of the 60's and 70's will show that invariably it was Third World ~~people~~ people in this country who made the innovations, who took the chances which allowed the revolutionary movement to go from one stage to the next. ~~On a mass level~~ On the level of open resistance the mass movements of civil disobedience and pacifism lead by Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez in the early sixties were models which the predominantly white anti-war movement was later to follow. As Third World people became frustrated by the lack of results from non-violence they ~~people~~ vented their righteous rage in the urban riots ~~such as~~ Watts, Detroit, and Newark. This ~~provided~~ provided examples for many of the ~~activities~~ activities of white students, particularly in the more militant areas such as Columbia, People's Park, and Isla Vista. The lack of permanent results from the politics of spontaneity led to the escalation to a level of organized military actions. The early Black Panther Party patroled the streets of Oakland armed and prepared to defend their community against the assault of vicious pigs. Reies Tijerina ~~and an armed band of chicanos took over the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, demanding the return of the land.~~ and an armed band of chicanos took over the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, demanding the return of the land. The Black Liberation Army began a carefully planned strategy of killing pigs in the community and expropriating money for the revolution. Native Americans reclaimed their land at ~~Alcatraz~~ ^{Alcatraz, Wounded Knee} ^{Marin County} ^{countdown} ~~the Attica Brothers~~ The Attica Brothers, inspired by the example of Comrade George Jackson, kidnapped their jailers and put their lives on the line to gain their dignity as human beings. In general revolutionary white people have not yet caught up with this level of tactical action. ^{and political sophistication} The Weather Underground Organization ~~is the only white group to undertake~~ and a few isolated individuals such as ~~Sam Melville~~ ^{Sam Melville} are the only whites

Lincoln
Hospital

~~who brought the level of struggle to the level of guerrilla war~~
who without direct involvement with Third World people have
been able to follow the example of John Brown and initiate
guerrilla actions.

~~In the area of revolutionary organizing, organizing the same~~
~~pattern has held true.~~

In the area of revolutionary organizing the same ^{general} pattern
has held true ~~in general, with the same concept of the~~
~~pattern of the same concept of the~~

The ~~Third World~~ Third World advocates of non-violence in the
early sixties demonstrated how to organize people around
XXXXXX reformist demands. Later in the sixties the Young
Lords, the Black Panther Party, and the ^{League of Rev. Black Workers} ~~Revolutionary~~

more specific
survival
programs,
Mentor
community
workplace,
A.C.D.
justice
A.C.C. w/
anti-war
movement

Union Movement broadened the perspective of organizing around
specific demands, ^{connecting the demands to} ~~is a~~ fighting imperialism and
building for a socialist revolution in this country. In more ^{Militance: re. did to death.}
recent times the American Indian Movement and some East Coast
Chapters of the Black Panther Party, have ^{WAPAC} ~~evolved~~ evolved to
a level of operating on a military/political level strategically.
They have combined ^{action on the} ~~support~~ support and defense of the
people ~~of their nations~~ ^{international} politics.

At this point in time no white ~~groups~~ ^{group} have been able
to achieve a level of organization which ~~incorporate~~ ^{with a political base in the community workplace} incorporate
a military and political strategy.

However, the surge of the
women's movement in the white community may provide the impetus
which will bring large numbers of white revolutionaries to the
realization that they must support and participate in the armed
struggle now.

Add men who are potential
dividers for among whites

Based on this ^{analysis} ~~analysis~~ of revolutionary practice in america the Symbionese Liberation Army takes an uncompromising stance in support of ~~the philosophy~~ of Third World Leadership. ^{The analysis} ~~we do~~ not deny the revolutionary leadership capabilities of our white comrades in the fight against oppression. Revolutionary whites have been and will continue to be in positions of leadership. ^{in pl. we}

~~But white must recognize that only through supporting leadership that understand that whites have to continuously agitate against other whites~~ But white ^{very} ~~people~~ must understand that as members of the oppressor (white) nation they must deal with their racism and the racism of other white people before they will be able to operate in ^{total} unity with Third World comrades in the ~~revolutionary~~ struggle. ^{of the most oppressed sectors of the population will all of the oppressed and exploited people be freed during the course of the revolution.}

Development of an M/P Strategy.

A large number of revolutionaries are placing the highest priority on party-building at this time. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ While we certainly see the ^{democratic} ~~need~~ ^{for} a fighting communist party at the vanguard of the revolutionary forces, we ~~do~~ believe that a focus on party-building is premature at this time. ~~We believe revolutionaries must direct their energies toward~~ ~~the formation of a mass base~~ The revolutionary movement must deal with three major problems before any talk of party-building has relevance: (1) Building unity between ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ between ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Third World and white revolutionaries (2) Developing organizational forms which are flexible enough to deal with the repression of fascism (3) building unity between the guerrilla fighters and above ground ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ revolutionaries - and the mass

Mark Essex
SLA

Party building - premature
neglects ① lack of ^{multinational} unity - federation
② lack of understanding of
fascism (clandestine infrastructure)

However, we do see the need for a practical mechanism to achieve maximum unity and revolutionary cooperation from all progressive anti-imperialist forces. We see ~~some sort of~~ ^a federation ~~as a mechanism~~ ^{or some similar type organization} as such a mechanism.

A federation is a revolutionary pre-party formation which guarantees national sovereignty and self-determination; provides for mutual assistance among all revolutionary forces; establishes a framework from which to eliminate national mistrust through joint practice and, therefore, helps to create the foundations from which to build a truly revolutionary communist party.

Insert
A federation cannot be controlled by any one race, nation, party, or by a minority of its representatives. It can remain functional only as long as the total needs and interests of all its combined forces are being met.

Unlike a party, such a federation does not require total ideological unity among its various members. It is simply a mechanism through which serious Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary nationalists and non-aligned freedom fighters can ~~XXXXX~~ ~~can~~ coordinate and carry on the business of revolution.

Although there is a resemblance, the Fédération is not a classical united front because it does not allow the participation of bourgeois elements. The federation's strategy for revolution will

be the product of combined internal struggle, but the guidelines to be followed must be the elimination of US corporate fascism and imperialism and the building of socialism. In other words, each representative group must work in the total interest of its people and all other people within the federation.

Insert
A federation is a ~~mechanism~~ ^{structure} for leadership which could exist even after the armed struggle. However, the creation of a fighting communist party should make ~~XXXX~~ any federation obsolete.

Most revolutionary activity in Third World communities at present is being done along national lines. ~~We believe that~~

~~At present it seems that this situation will prevail for a significant~~

Until the conditions are created where Third World people can work with whites in a situation which will guarantee their self-determination, any efforts at multi-national organizations will be doomed to failure.

must be developed

This is why the Symbionese Liberation Army ~~has consistently~~ ^{believes} ~~endorses the idea of a~~ ~~XXXXXXX~~ a revolutionary pre-party formation which guarantees national ~~XXXX~~ sovereignty and self-determination; provides for mutual assistance among all revolutionary forces, establishes a framework from which to eliminate national mistrust through joint practice and, therefore, helps to create a foundation from which a fighting communist party can be built.

Such an ~~XXXXXX~~ organization would differ from a party or a classical united front ~~in that~~ it would not require total ideological unity among its members but it would not allow the participation of bourgeois elements. It would simply be a mechanism through which serious Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary nationalists, and non-aligned freedom fighters could coordinate their efforts in eliminating ~~the fascist U.S.~~ the fascist U.S. imperialist system and building a socialist revolution.

In the past we have referred to this organization as the Symbionese Federation. We have no sectarian attachment to our name.

This why at this time we believe a federation or some similar form of organization is necessary to build ~~the~~ the potentials for proletarian unity within the boundaries of the U.S.

BUILDING UNITY BETWEEN WHITES AND TW's

unemployed

The ruling class has created false divisions ~~among~~ among working people based on ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ race. Imperialism has nurtured and supported racism and national chauvinism, particularly among white workers. Whites have been given positions of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ privilege relative to the ~~XX~~ Third World people of the same class. The present economic situation, however, is causing many whites to realize that the "differences" among proletarians are largely the invention of ^{imperialist} capitalist exploiters. ~~Thus, the class consciousness among exploited people is advancing with each passing day.~~ The people are deciding that false divisions based on race only benefit the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ fascist ruling class and keep the people enslaved.

This class consciousness among white people has the potential to develop into a moving revolutionary force. It can only be developed, though, by the conscious efforts of white revolutionaries to struggle with other white people and show them that racism is not in their self-interest, that the elimination of racism is the key to their own liberation.

At present, this task is not being carried out effectively. White comrades have too often chosen the path of encouraging white workers' righteous hatred of the ruling class because it is more "rewarding" (easier). This is a reactionary approach to the problem of unifying potential revolutionary ~~X~~ peoples.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Because the struggle against racism has not been effectively carried out in the white community, Third World revolutionaries have consistently ~~refused to~~ ~~work~~ with white groups.

chosen not to

6
The ~~best~~ example we have seen of this type of organization is the Council of Revolutionary Coordination in Latin America. The Council is comprised of the Tupamaros (Uruguay), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Chile), The National Liberation Army (Bolivia), and the People's Revolutionary Army (Argentina). These four groups came together with the understanding that they were fighting a common enemy--Yahkhe imperialism and that the only path toward liberation for all of Latin America is revolutionary war. The interests of one nation are not considered more important than those of any other nation, but the prime strategic and tactical considerations of the Council are oriented toward what is best for creating socialism throughout Latin America.

FIT
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OTHER
PART OF
P60.

~~REVISION FILED~~

DEVELOPING FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

"This ~~what~~ you call organization, when in the name of one object, inspired by a single will, millions of people change the form of their intercourse and action, the place and methods of activity, the weapons and arms, in accordance with the changing circumstances and demands of the struggle."

V.I. Lenin

~~Understanding the necessity for flexibility in organizations~~

The necessity for flexibility in ~~organization~~ organizations is dictated by the conditions in ~~ameriKKKa~~. As Comrade George Jackson said: "Fascism: its most advanced form is here in America." (Our revolution cannot succeed) "until we fully accept the fact that the enemy is aware, determined, disguised, totalitarian, and mercilessly counterrevolutionary."

When dealing with the possibility of fascist repression

When dealing with the question of building organizations that are flexible perhaps the best example to learn from is that of the Long March of the Chinese in 1934. The thought of taking 80,000 people on a journey of 6,000 miles should heighten the contradictions around our own organizing if we are not even able to move a small group of fifteen or twenty people across town or even to another nearby city without totally losing our political effectiveness.

BUILDING UNITY BETWEEN GUERRILLAS AND ABOVE GROUND ORGANIZERS

"The irrefutable truth is that a liberation struggle is revolutionary war. Revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, legal and clandestine, economic and political, where all forms of struggle are developing harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle. Anyone who by now has not grasped these basic facts does not know what liberation struggle is or is trying to palm off reform for liberation struggle."

⑦
and torture in the U.S. , revolutionaries in the past have too often maintained an attitude of American exceptionalism which says "it can't happen here." No amount of horror stories about ~~XXXXXX~~ napalm, placing electrodes on people's genitals, or rushing people out of helicopters seems to convince us that these fascist imperialists of the U.S. ruling class are really ^(ad CIA new) the fascist imperialists we say they are.

This lack of understanding of the true nature of U.S. fascism has severe effects on the types of ~~XXXXXX~~ organizations we develop. In the past revolutionaries have chosen to either lay all their cards on the table -- support armed actions in the U.S. -- and risk annihilation or else have adopted an opportunist stance which says "we support armed struggle in other countries but not here," thus preserving the longevity of their organization. It is time revolutionaries saw the bankruptcy in both courses. What must be developed is what Carlos Marighella called a "clandestine-infrastructure"; in short the ability to go underground and ~~remain politically effective~~ remain politically effective when repression becomes severe. Building a clandestine infrastructure is not a simple task, but it is a very important one. As U.S. imperialism rapidly loses its foothold on world power ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXX~~ and the revolutionary movement on the home front becomes a powerful force, fascist repression will proliferate. A study of the history of the Communist Party, USA and show that when their politics were incorruptible, ~~XXXXXX~~ and moving masses of people toward revolution, they ultimately had to go underground. They were not organizationally prepared to do so and were severely set back in their attempts at building a revolution.

more specific

③ coordinating forces between
m i p -

Building a Clandestine Infrastructure

Dealing with the question of a clandestine party infrastructure necessitates an understanding of Comrade George Jackson's statement: "Fascism: Its most advanced form is here in America." (Our revolution cannot succeed) "until we fully accept the fact that the enemy is aware determined, disguised, totalitarian, and mercilessly counter-revolutionary." Comrade George's analysis of US corporate fascism must be respected when undertaking party building.

Revolution in ameriKKKa is illegal. A study of the history of the Communist Party, U.S.A. will show that when repression was at its height, the CP had to operate underground. Things have not changed. If the government sees that a communist party is leading masses of people toward revolution, party members will be marked for execution. These members must not be found. Creating the infrastructure is as important as ~~XXXX~~ building the mass base and in the beginning it should have the highest priority.

Developing a Military/Political Strategy

The strategy of a communist party must be military/political. Therefore, it must be formulated through the combined efforts of

"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of people".

-- Mao Tse-Tung

"The argument that guerrilla warfare disorganizes the movement must be regarded critically. Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and sacrifices, inevitably 'disorganizes' organizations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle...

Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganizes the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must learn to fight. That is all."

-- V.I. Lenin

6b

- (1) forging pre-party unity between Third World and white comrades
- (2) building a clandestine infrastructure
- (3) developing a military/political strategy.

Forging Pre-Party Unity

At the present time we do not believe there is sufficient unity between white and Third World revolutionaries for the emergence of a communist party which would guarantee the self-determination of its Third World membership.

7-15200 PF Q2180

J.D. -

Our two possibilities for painting are:

- ① Mrs. Sheehy - \$750 - 2 coats exterior
on building at 319-21 Arlington
(near Richland & Mission)
call her on Tuesday - 897-3959.
~~She~~ We're supposed to start on Thurs.
so put her off.

- ② Mr. Winter
453 Holly Park (near Richland & Mission also)
Outside \$275
Inside \$ ~~400~~ 400

Phone: MO-43748

He should call answering service to confirm job. He's in no hurry
Other possible but unlikely call backs are

Mrs. Porter - \$425 painting inside
\$100 floors
\$50 outside painting

Mr. Yu - \$500 - 2 coats outside

Sat. at 10:30 there's supposed to be a bid for
Mr. Perone at 3240 Taraval - 697-6319

Also, if Mr or Mrs Gilchrist calls the
answering service don't call them back
because they're complaining about some bullshit.

Bill Osgood's numbers 265 #113
Home - 355-9568 (after 9pm)
Office - 355-1944

Keep the paint a-flowin'

Charlie

Olson - 468-0640 730

Shelby 897-3959

RENTAL AGREEMENT AND DEPOSIT RECEIPT

San Francisco, Calif. 5-15, 19

Received of CHARLES RICHARD BARBER & ANN L. BARBER
the sum of ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY FIVE & 00/100 Dollars (\$ 185.00)
as a deposit to secure renting of Apartment No. _____, at 1246 GENEVA AVE.
at the rate of \$ 2.00 per month, payable monthly, in advance, commencing MAY 15, 19
said premises to include STOVE & REFRIGERATOR

This deposit is received upon the express condition, and it is hereby understood and agreed, that if owner or his agent is not satisfied to accept this tenant after checking references and employment, this deposit shall be returned and shall be accepted by tenant at any time within five (5) days from the date first mentioned above. If tenant is accepted, the balance of the month's rent, and a security deposit in the amount of \$ 100 (which shall be refunded upon tenant's faithful performance of this agreement), and \$ _____ deposit on _____ keys, is then due and payable on demand. If not paid, this deposit shall be forfeited for and in the consideration of owner's execution of this agreement.

It is understood and agreed that all rents are due and payable on the 1st day of each month. On or before thirty (30) days after the date of commencement, tenant will be required to pay a pro-rata rental in the amount of \$ 55.00, which amount will pay rent for said premises to the 1st day of JUNE 1, 1975.

DEPOSITS PAID TO SECURE RENTAL OF PREMISES NOT REFUNDABLE EXCEPT AS ABOVE.

In consideration hereof and of the use or occupancy of said premises, tenant agrees:

- 1 - To maintain said premises in a clean, orderly, and law abiding manner and to keep the yards thereof free of debris and/or material that may become unsightly or a detriment to the appearance of said premises.
- 2 - To allow owner or his authorized agents the right to enter the premises at any reasonable time to inspect or show prospective tenants or purchasers, and to use keys if necessary.
- 3 - No alterations or redecorating of any kind shall be made to the premises, nor door locks added or changed, without the prior written consent of owner.
- 4 - To pay cost of all utility services furnished to premises, except WATER.
- 5 - To pay the cost of all repairs for any damage done to said premises and the cost of any cleaning of said premises which owner may consider necessary, reasonable wear and tear and damage by the elements excepted.
- 6 - No birds, animals, or other pets shall be kept on the premises without the written consent of owner; any consent so given may be withdrawn by owner upon fifteen (15) days written notice to tenant.
- 7 - Not to let or sublet the whole or any part of the premises to anyone for any purpose whatsoever without prior written permission from owner, and the number of persons to occupy said premises shall not exceed 2 without written consent from owner.
- 8 - To give thirty (30) days written notice by registered mail to owner prior to vacating said premises.
- 9 - TENANT AGREES TO PAY A LATE CHARGE IN THE AMOUNT OF 5% OF AMOUNTS MORE THAN TEN (10) DAYS PAST DUE.

10 - That the violation of any of the covenants of this agreement or the non-payment of any rent when due shall be sufficient cause for eviction from said premises upon three (3) days written notice thereof by registered mail or by personal service, and if suit be brought to collect rent or damages or to cause eviction from the premises or to collect the cost of repairs to or cleaning of said premises, tenant agrees to pay all cost of such action, including reasonable attorney's fees as may be fixed by the Court. No waiver by owner at any time of any terms of this agreement shall be deemed as a subsequent waiver of the same, nor of the diligent and prompt performance thereof by the tenant.

11 - All rent shall be paid to EUGENE ZUCKER, San Francisco, California, or any other place designated by owner or his agent.

1246 GENEVA AVE.
5100 IS REFUNDABLE UPON TERMINATION
DEPOSIT RECEIVED:

OF TENANCY SUBJECT TO NO VIOLATION OF
Eugene Zucker HEREIN AGREEMENT.
Owner or Agent

Charles Barber
Tenant

Tenant

ACCEPTANCE

TENANT HEREBY ACCEPTED. TENANT ACKNOWLEDGES RECEIPT OF AN ACCEPTED COPY OF THIS AGREEMENT AND KEYS AS INDICATED ABOVE.

Charles Barber
Tenant

MAY 15, 1975
\$100 IS FORFEITED IF PREMISES
ARE VACATED PRIOR TO DEC 31, 1975

Eugene Zucker

①

A Military/Political Strategy For Victory in the United States
of am-rikkka ^{Concept}
The ~~Philosophy~~ of TW Leadership

Today national liberation struggles are the focal point
of revolutionary ~~struggles~~ in the world. ~~As the most oppressed~~
~~of the world more their guerrilla struggles~~ Guerrilla warfare
in the most oppressed nations of the world is providing the
international leadership for communist revolutionaries. As
the struggles for national liberation continue to succeed,
the repressive forces of imperialism become progressively more
and more isolated and ~~XXXX~~ powerless. ~~As the cheap raw~~
~~materials and labor from Third World countries continues to~~ As the cheap raw
materials and labor from Third World countries continues to
disappear, ^{profits} ~~multinational~~ profits shrink and the working class
in the centers of imperialism is no longer able to live off
the exploitation of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. This creates
conditions for revolution in the headquarters of imperialism,
amerikkka.

As revolutionaries in the belly of the monster we must
recognize that a parallel process to the world ~~XXXXXXX~~ war
against imperialism is occurring within our borders. ~~States~~,
The progressive forces of the Third World peoples of the U.S. --
are leading the battle on the home front against ~~the~~ the
fascist ruling class. An examination of U.S. history will show
that the colonized people in this country -- Native Americans,
Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians have a long history
of militant revolt. Blacks in particular have been in the fore-
front of revolutionary struggles in amerikkka, defining the
terms of resistance and raising the level of militancy to meet
the level of pig repression throughout the years.

Hick

3200 5/11/19

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7-15200 PF Q2178

Grantree

FURNITURE RENTAL

NEED YOUR
PHONE NO.

SLEEVE

you to paint
floor see me

Very best - Thanks

Bill Rogers

Home Phone

355-9568

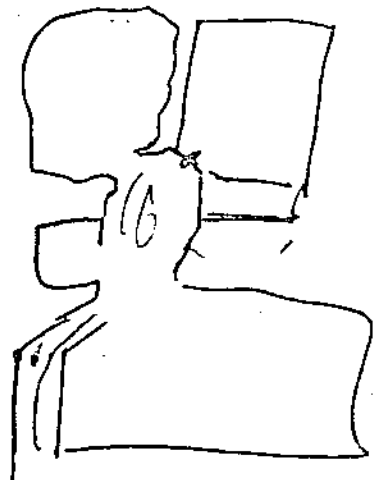
310- 2/1 - complete
104 3/1 - do
106 4/1 - do

200 7/1 - complete
SAN FRANCISCO 673-6700
SAN MATEO 349-5212
3570 S. El Camino Real



7-15200 PF Q2178

27



7-15200 PF Q2177



- ① Go to Osgood
- ② Follow-up painting calls
- ③ Check out apt.
- ④ Junk green car
- ⑤ Brakes & oil for car
- ⑥ Buy 1 gal enamel
- ⑦ Rent ladder

7-15200 PF Q2177

FBI

^{2/2}
260 - Flat / Kitchen / 2 baths
heaters / louvers /
doors / sliding door /
= complete +
sliding door

237 - Flat / Kitchen / Bath
Heaters

^{1/1}
201 - Flat / Bath / Heaters

^{2/1}
213 - Flat / Heaters / 2 K / Bath

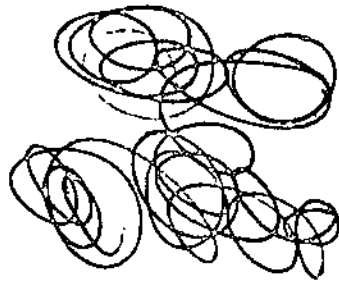
7-15200 PF Q2177

FBI

212~ Flat / kitchen / bath
kitchen / dressboards

125

7-15200 PF Q2177



7-15200 PF Q2177

plates
spice
salt = pepper shaker
big spoon
big knife
garbage can
radio
chairs
bombs
stereo

7-15200 PF Q2177



Dent de Morcles,
near St. Moritz valley
GERHARD KLAMMET *from Fronts of the Earth*

7-15200 PF Q2177

— FBI —

overall: contacts, pol. study, book

MONEY - MAKERS

- 1) Bryce - Long Beach, SF. State
- 2) Checks - local I.D., address
- 3) Welfare - talk w/ Fa & Mose, Sm
- 4) Credit cards
- 5) Dope
- 6) CM

[Jerry's phone #]

Medical

- 1) Class (w/ Dr. S. for cell)
- 2) acquiring more supplies - F.C., pharmacist, dr. appointments

Class - drawing blood
giving shots
basic 1st aid

ob-gyn
simple tx of disease

colds - pneumonia

strep throat

ear infection

general infection

possibly write manual
or select excerpts


mono.

hepatitis

V.D.

bronchitis

how to use Merck


(Open houses)
Jerry

- ✓ Birth certificates - talk w/ Lola
- Readings
- Open houses
- Medical
- ✓ Money
- Contacts
- Book

✓ Who's Who
BC for Kate
Talk w/ Lola (office, Telecredit)
Health spec - talk w/ Frank
Bob A - card
Rachel - talk about Welfare

MEDICAL - class
Money - CM, CHECKS
BC -

① Tactics - oil

② Mobility ^{popcorn}

③ Book

④ Contacts

BARO
PFOC
STT

Who's Who

The prerequisite for unity
between abroad revolutionaries
and guerrilla fighters is the
development of a strategy for
revolution in the U.S. which is
both military and political in
character. In the past, most
revolutionaries have made the
mistake of seeing only the
importance of the political
side of the up. dialectic.

has been
neglected

we
rev.

Use of the SLT emphasize
the military aspect of the
struggle. Because we believe it to be
the only strategy which can
eventually lead to total victory.
Every ~~revolution~~ successful revolution
in recent times has been won
by a protracted people's war.
Though most of the victories over
imperialism have been won in
non-industrial nations and have
based their organization on the
peasant masses. The unforgettable
lessons of the Vietnamese, Chinese,
Cuban, Mozambican, Guinean-Bissau,
(Korean, Albanian, Yemeni?) has been that
only the armed might of the people
guided by a political line which
served the needs of the people
was able to bring a people's rev.
government into power.

revealing
The most ~~striking~~ ^{revealing} event of
our era, which demonstrated
unequivocally the need for armed
struggle was the fascist coup
in Chile in 1973. Many revolutionaries
have failed to learn the lesson
which the fate of the Chilean
revolution should have taught
us. Allende is often seen as a
well-meaning person who did
the best he could under the
circumstances. ~~But~~ We certainly
respect the courage with which
Allende faced his attackers. The
picture of him marching ^{in a band} ~~in a band~~
through the ~~old~~ presidential
palace, is stirring one indeed;
still, the forces of repression
were able to win out in Chile because
the government of Salvador Allende
had an incorrect political line.
They placed no emphasis on
arming the people. They were
not forceful in moving toward
the dictatorship of the ~~pe~~ proletariat.
Their orientation was totally political
i.e. based on changing the ideology ^{hoping to} ~~hoping to~~
of the people and ~~the~~ ^{convincing} ~~convincing~~ ^{convincing} ~~convincing~~
majority of the people to
socialism rather than military/
political i.e. developing and armed
force which would guarantee a
position of power while at the

same time carrying on the
necessary propaganda work
among the masses.

(Anti
rac)

Many revolutionaries in the
U.S. suffer from a similar
lack of correct political ideology.
Today, too many people in the
left are embroiled in extreme
sectarian debates about how
the communist party "is to
be formed. This is a waste of
time. The way it is being
carried out. ~~The problem is~~ The
real question is: where is the
mass base that a party
must have in order to be
anything more than a debating
society. Above ground revolutionaries
must leave their petty bourgeois
enclaves and go among the masses,
into the communities where ~~and~~
exploited and oppressed people are.
They must be principled, anti-imperialist,
anti-racist, anti-sexist organizing and
they must critically support
the actions of the guerrilla
fighters.

It is clear ~~too~~ from the
10,000 people that attended the
funeral of Zayd Shakur and
from the thousands of people
that lined up to receive food
in the food distribution programs.

25,000 Copies of P.F

demanded by us during the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst that guerrilla activity can arouse the consciousness of the masses. The left must capitalize on these opportunities not use the ~~small~~ ~~industrial~~ ~~media~~ ~~platform~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~media~~ ~~platform~~ ~~as~~ ~~provided~~ ~~many~~ ~~revolutionaries~~ ~~by~~ ~~guerrilla~~ ~~action~~ ~~to~~ ~~merely~~ ~~opportunistically~~ ~~put~~ ~~forth~~ ~~their~~ ~~own~~ ~~corrupt~~ ~~political~~ ~~line~~.

It is time many revolutionaries realize that nearly every prisoner of war in the U.S. whom most revolutionaries are so quick to defend is a guerrilla fighter to the core - from Russell Meyer to Bob to Walter Foster to John Lebron to the Althea Brothers, these people are guerrillas. The left must recognize this and give the same kind of support to those who carry on the armed struggle outside the walls as they do to those who are locked down.

Long live the Guerrilla!!
DTT FIT PUTLOTT

Today many revolutionaries in the U.S. have a similar lack of military / political focus. Too many people on the left are so embroiled in endless debate about "the communist party" that they ignore the revolutionary actions of guerrilla fighters and neglect their ^{own} work among the masses. Revolutionary organizers must go among the people and carry out ~~effective~~ political work along anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist lines. They must begin to see that one of the most effective ways to raise the consciousness of the masses is guerrilla action. The 10,000 people at Jayd Shakun funeral, the thousands of people who stood in line for food during the Kerst Kroeggen, the some 25,000 copies of Prairie Fire, the political statement of the W40, which have been distributed are proof that people respond to the actions of armed revolutionaries. This does not mean every organizer must be a guerrilla class. It means that revolutionaries, no matter where they are must see the need for armed struggle in order to win a revolution and they must see that the existence of the BLA, SLA, W40, FAW, R6F, VULF, BGF, ^{S.C.B.} and 'provision' from 'George' Jackson to 'white' hebron means that

The armed struggle has already begun
on many fronts. No more can
revolutionaries come out in the
big media and condemn the action
of "adventurist terrorists". Any
criticism directed at guerrilla fighters
must start from the premise
that people's war is a strategy for
victory and that the armed forces
need the support and criticism from
comrades in the community and
workplace in order to carry out
~~the armed action that will move~~
the people forward.

armed action which will complement
the work of revolutionary organizers
and therefore move the people forward

Quote from CP Council of Coordination

- ① National Question - revolutionary vs. bourgeois nations
- ② Women Question
- ③ TW Leadership
- ④ Fascism - STT, George, URPE
- ⑤ Democratic Centralism
- ⑥ Military/Political vs. Political
- ⑦ Party / Army / United Front - Who Are Our Fr
- ⑧ Federation/Union - role of oppressed and oppressor nati.
- ⑨ Marxism - Leninism - Mao-Tse Tung Thought

- ① National Question - ^{Federation/Union} Stalin, Boggs (?)
 - ② ♀ - Engels, TW people & foreigners in 1930s etc., J.
 - ③ TW - Leadership - Historical Analysis, Barnett, PFO
 - ④ Fascism - STT, George, URPE ^{STT article on class &}
 - ⑤ Democratic Centralism - Lenin ^{(Cato, Mao (UP &}
 - ⑥ Military/Political - vs. Political - Marighela, DeLong,
 - ⑦ Who Are Our Friends (Party / Army / United Front) - Mao, Le
 - ⑧ Federation / Union
 - ⑨ Marxism - Leninism - Mao-Tse Tung Thought
- a) Dialectical Materialism - Stalin, Marx, Mao
 - b) Vanguard party
 - c) Armed struggle
 - d) Laws of motion of capitalism - surplus val
 - e) Dictatorship of proletariat
 - f) Class struggle
 - g) United fronts

Firm up list
Think about order

National Question

Classic work: Marxism and the National Question

Joseph Stalin
also Marxism and the National-Colonial Question
Joseph Stalin

Basic Tenets

- ① Definition of nation & national minority
- ② Role of revolutionaries in oppressor and oppressed nations: WWI
- ③ Concept of self-determination & secessions
- ④ How ideas of nation changed as capital reached monopoly stage
- ⑤ Relationship of opportunism to NQ - RU in 1

Current problems

- ① Definition of black nation in U.S.
"black belt" concept
 - ② Nationhood of Israel vs. nationhood of Palestinians
 - ③ Relationship of support for national movements for liberation to support for armed struggle (i.e. debate between Russia & China)
 - ④ Cultural vs. revolutionary nationalism (political vs. ~~cultural~~)
 - ⑤ Notion of Federation: Comintern
- Quotes
p. 243-4 of Stalin reader - role of oppressor & oppressed
p. 227 - definition of nation

Important Historical Struggles

- ① 2nd International and WWI
- ② Recent struggles w/ RU & NAM
- ③ USSR after revolution dealing w/ bourgeois element in nation

Third World Leadership

Classic works: ?

Basic tenets:

- ① Imperialism is a worldwide system of oppression with resistance occurring first in the most oppressed (rural) sectors and then in the center of oppression (urban)
- ② Resistance grows out of oppression. Understanding strategic and tactical considerations grows out of oppression.
- ③ Historically, oppressed & colonized people have shown the highest level of resistance in U.S. (witness: minority composition of early CP, large number of Jews proportionately in left, recent development of ♀ as a driving force, the uncompromising rebellion of people of color, esp. the most oppressed: Red & Black - analyze New Left & demonstrations → riots → armed resistance: community organizing G.I.s, prisoners revolts, concepts of nation among Native Americans, Black, Chicano & Boliviana)
- ④ TW leadership does not preclude the leadership of whites
- ⑤ Internationalism means support for TW national liberation struggles within the boundaries of the USNA.

Current problems

- ① The idea of class & national oppression
- ② Relationship of white & to TW. & in combatting sexual oppression
- ③ Multinationalism vs. internationalism

Important Historical Struggles

- ① CPUSA in WWII supporting Japanese concentration camps

Quote

Prairie Fire p. 147-160, 61-79

(Military/Political vs. Political)

The Party, The Army, & The United Front

Classic Works:

Lenin: What Is To Be Done

Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder

Mao: On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

On the People's Democratic Dictatorship

The Chinese Revolution and the CCP

Stalin: Foundations of Leninism

Marighela: For the Liberation of Brazil

Basic Tenets

- ① Party is not a mass organization but a vanguard organization of the most advanced elements of the proletarian masses.
- ② In underdeveloped nations, revolution will proceed from the rural areas to the city, with a unity among peasants and proletarians, but under proletarian leadership.
- ③ In underdeveloped countries, united fronts are based on unity with the national bourgeoisie (as opposed to the compradors) but with the party in command of the united front.
- ④ That a party must have a military/political focus so that the military elements in rural areas are not subordinated to the political party elements in the city.
- ⑤ The principal focus of the army's external political work is to build unity between the army and the people.

Fidel
Debray
~~1967~~

- ⑥ 3 phases of a protracted war's development
① strategic defense
② strategic stalemate
③ strategic offensive

Current problems

- ① How does formation of united fronts differ in oppressed & oppressed nations even within the same nation-state
- ② How do we develop a party in the U.S. with an m/p strategy, not just a political strategy
- ③ How does the urban/rural dialectic change in a developed country
- ④ 2-stage revolution in underdeveloped countries

Historic problems

- ① Latin America, particularly Colombia: Cuba
- ② BPP
- ③ Tots

Quotations

Debray p. 67-9,

Stalin p. 319 of Mao reader

p. 232 Mao reader

p. 234 Mao reader

Lenin or party

Democratic centralism

Marxism - Leninism - Mao - Tse Tung, Thuc

Basic Tenets & Classics

① Dialectical Materialism -

Ludwig Feuerbach - Engels (45 pp.) Dialectical & Historical Materialism - Stalin
80 pp. 175 pp. German Ideology (Part I) - Marx On Contradictions
On Historical Materialism - Engels - Mao - 3

② Laws of Motion of Capitalism

Imperialism - Lenin - 100 pp. Communist Manifesto - Marx & Engels
Capital - Marx; Value, Price & Profit - Marx

③ The Need for Armed Struggle

State & Revolution - Lenin 125 pp.

④ The Need for a Vanguard Party

What Is To Be Done - Lenin - 150 pp.

⑤ The Need for United Fronts in Colonies

On New Democracy - Mao - 70 pp.

⑥ On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People - Mao 55 pp.

⑦ The Need for Nat'l Liberation Struggles (2-stage revolution)

On New Democracy - Mao

Anthologies

Reader in Marxist Philosophy - Selsam & Martel

Marx & Engels - Basic Writings on Politics & Philosophy - Fe

Mao Tse-Tung On War & Revolution - M. Rejai

Quotes - Stalin - on materialism & dialectical
method p. 7-9.

Surplus value

Industrial reserve army

Historical class struggle - primitive →

feudal → capitalist → communist

Principles of Bolsheviks vs. Mensheviks

Historical Problems

- ① Social Democrats - social reform, "policy" of imperialism - Chile
- ② Mass Socialist Organization vs. Party
Stalin vs. Trotsky, Anarchists
- ③ Focuses - 1-stage revolution a la Cuba
- ④ Nat'l Liberation → atomic war

A) Trotskyism

B) Anarchism

C) Focus

A. One-stage revolution

Mass party

'Socialism in one country' vs. permanent revolution

B. No central gov't

No vanguard organization

Emphasis on process, not results (individualism)

Communism without socialism

C. One stage revolution

Focus point is guerrilla activity

D) Emphasis on electoral strategy

Gradual reform

Anti-Stalinism

① Laws of motion

Market evolution to monopoly

Dialectic of creating economic structure
for socialism

Cycle of economic overproduction

Boom w/ high employment → excess production
recession, high unemployment

role of automation in creating industrial
crisis

how surplus & surplus value are created

Inevitability of imperialism (not a policy)

Trotskyism

- ① Socialism in one country. (no socialism in capitalist world - USSR must wait for proletarians of W. Europe). Based on denial of uneven development of capitalism (imperialism).
- ② No alliance of proletariat with peasantry.
4 main allies (Stalin)
 - a) peasants
 - b) W. Europe prolet.
 - c) oppressed nations
 - d) Capitalist conflictStalin relied on a); Trotsky on (b)
- ③ No democratic stage of revolution but only immediate struggle by proletariat w/ all bourgeois element. No anti-imperialist, anti-feudal focus
- ④ No democratic centralism, but freedom of criticism in party.

Contemporary practice - opposed signing of peace treaty as sellout of S. Vietnam's civil rights.



History of Israel in Palestine

Amounts of US support

State of refugees

Role of Jordan¹⁹⁴⁸, Saudi Arabia, Iran - Vietnamese

Amounts of US Support

Black September

Number of Palestinians

Oman & Dhofar

Resistance Organizations

PLO

PDFP

Fatah

PLP

PNF

Sa'na

Importance of 1967 war & October War

Question of Palestinian National Authority

Role of other nations in the area

Egypt - change from Nasser to Sadat

Iraq -

Syria -

Kuwait -

Libya -

Algeria -

South Yemen (PDY) -

Oman -

Dhofar -

Lebanon -

Iran -

TOWARD AN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

DON BARNETT

- ① Theory precedes strategy which precedes tactics.
- ② Most NA revolutionaries believe the correct unit of analysis is the U.S. Barnett contends the correct unit is the U.S. empire.
- ③ 3 main contradictions in the modern empire
 - a) Metropolis' ruling class & combined worker-peasant class of neocolonies
 - b) Ruling class of neo-colonies and their domestic worker-peasant class
 - c) Metropolis' ruling class and its domestic proletariat
- ④ These contradictions are of varying relative importance at different times. The first is of fundamental importance. Wars of national liberation try to resolve the first two - first the second, then the first (i.e. two stage revolution).
- ⑤ At present, metropolitan class struggle is less acute due existence of imperialism which affords metropolis' proletariat with a share of imperialism's profits. Development of revolution in the metropol is dependent upon success of national liberation struggle so share of profits of empire for metropolis' proletariat is reduced.

⑥ The struggle should be viewed as a single revolution within the multinational imperialist system with the revolutionary armed struggle spreading from the more oppressed people in the countryside to the increasingly exploited proletariat of the metropolises.

⑦ Not a question of when the American revolution is going to begin but how to employ our forces in the anti-imperialist revolution which is already well under way.

⑧ Most important question for those in the cities is how to best relate ourselves to the revolutionary struggles occurring in the "countryside." Barnett says a dual "urban-rural" strategy is needed.

① Rural - direct participation, recruitment, provision of funds, material, & propaganda.

② Urban - harass and morally isolate the ruling class regime.

Metropolitan revolutionaries tend to take technical skills & resources at their disposal for granted and often think they can't be of any aid to the international socialist revolution.

⑨ Since blacks represent an internal colony they will channel most of their energy on the domestic front.

⑩ White students, intellectuals, & workers will have the burden of rural activity.

- ② Indirect participation in the armed struggle is a long run alternative to despair or spontaneity. "Total commitment to a viable long range strategy, tied to armed struggle would provide an answer for the exploited and super alienated which the current every-so-often demonstration and partial involvement simply cannot produce."

Seize the Time - 2/75 Internationalism

- ① Internationalism stresses an alliance between nations based on the equality of all working people.

- ② There is a white nation but its struggle is not for national liberation. White workers must use the internationalism of working people to overcome white racism.

- ③ International Organizations

- a) Indo-chinese Council of Coordination
Political structure of these members remained separate until Council's dissolution

- b) Latin America Council of Coordination
Called for common political strategy and pointed toward eventual united Latin American party for Spanish-speaking Latin America

- c) 1st International 1864-76 - Had mass working class movement in Europe
Collapsed 1872 due to ① excess diversity
② too disorganized

(2) 3rd Division (Cavalry) 1901-1905
These were the years when the
regiment was in the 1st Division

The ... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...

As a result of the above, the following is suggested:

1. Black in color

Should have small assembly to present
criticism & commend. Paragraphs of appreciation

① Based on a struggle of national liberation

(a) Guarantee independence of the national press

① Aggregations as long as possible. Several

(4) Public opinion: policy by a majority of people, and it is usually the driving

LENIN'S IMPERIALISM - CHAPTER 7

CHAPTER 7

- 1) Briefest definition of imperialism: monopoly stage of capitalism.
- 2) 5 essential features of imperialism:
 - a) Monopolies play decisive role in economy.
 - b) Merging of bank & industrial capital and the creation of a financial oligarchy based on finance capital.
 - c) Export of capital is distinguished from export of commodities.
 - d) Formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world.
 - e) Territorial division of the whole world among great powers is completed.
- 3) It must be understood that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism and is not a policy of monopoly capitalists.
- 4) Under imperialism the revenue of bondholders is 5 times greater than that from foreign trade.
- 5) General causes & effects of imperialism:
 - a) Exploitation of whole world by imperialist power.
 - b) Imperialist powers have monopolistic position in world market.
 - c) Imperialist power has colonial monopoly.
- Effects:
 - a) Section of proletariat become bourgeois.
 - b) " " permits itself to be led by people in the sway of the bourgeois.

Some definitions

Ultra-imperialism In the theory that views imperialism as a policy of capitalism, ultra-imperialism is the stage situation where finance capital has come into existence and is the ruling force behind an imperialist policy. Specifically in ultra-imperialism international finance capital is united as opposed to rivalry of various nations' finance capital.

Oppportunism: Corrupting sections of proletariat in imperialist countries by cutting them in on the profits of imperialism.

Stalin: Marxism & the National Question

p. 282-95

- ① During 2nd International the national question was concerned only with "civilized nationalities" (e.g. Irish, Serbs, Poles). No attempt was made to deal with African or Asian suffering national oppression. Leninism linked the national question with the question of class, thereby making the NP and international and general problem instead of particular and internal state problem.
- ② 2nd International saw self-determination as a cultural matter. Leninism dealt with the idea of secession. Because 2nd I didn't deal w/ secession it had potential to turn the idea of self-determination into an instrument for justifying rather than combating annexation (i.e. oppressed nations get their culture but oppressor nations retain political power).
- ③ Imperialism renders "equality of nations" impossible. Leninism saw the need for proletariat of oppressed nations to totally support the oppressed nations struggle against imperialism. Otherwise "equality of nations" is meaningless.
- ④ Nat'l movements of oppressed countries must be appraised not from a standpoint of formal democracy but according to the general balance sheet of the struggle against imperialism on a world scale.

- ⑤ Developing capitalism has 2 historical tendencies in the NQ. (a) awakening of national life: national movements, struggle against all national oppression, creation of national states (b) development & acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life of politics.

The first predominates at the beginning of capitalism. The second as capitalism matures.

For imperialism (a) & (b) are irreconcilable contradictions. For Communism they are two sides of the emancipation of oppressed people from imperialism.

- ⑥ Communists in oppressor nations must agitate for secession. Communists in oppressed nations must agitate for union. This is done with the recognition that a one world economic system must be based on equality.

p. 109-21 Oct. Rev.

Main effect of ~~the~~ NQ is world wide perception of NQ

- ① NQ is general not particular question after 1917 (i.e. not Europe but world wide)
- ② Set an example of emancipation for oppressed people in East & West drawing them into common current of fighting imperialism.
- ③ Erected a bridge between socialist

West and the enslaved East; created a new front against world imperialism extending from proletarians of West to oppressed people of East

p. 372-84

- ① October Rev. attacked imperialism both at its 'metropolises' and its periphery (i.e. colonial & dependent countries) and demonstrated the alternative to bourgeois nationalism: proletarian internationalism. Thus, the OR ushered in new era of colonial revolutions carried out in alliance with the proletariat: under the leadership of the proletariat.
- ② The OR put world capitalism in jeopardy by weakening imperialism in both the metropolis & the colonies.
- ③ OR created an open base for the world revolutionary movement.
- ④ OR was not just economic & social-political. OR was a revolution of ideology: the dictatorship of the proletariat is the end result of Marxism. It is impossible to end capitalism without putting an end to social-Democratism in the labor movement.

p. 324-336

- ① Two ^{stages} must be distinguished in NQ
- a) pre-October stage when bourgeois democratic revolution was the issue and the NQ was regarded as part of the general democratic movement
 - b) post-October - proletarian revolution is the issue and the NQ became a component part of the proletarian revolution

② Criticism of Semich

- ③ Semich talks of resolving NQ in revolutionary struggle. These may be reforms if they are not done solely for the purpose of breaking up the old order. Otherwise, NQ is a "constitutional" issue - a civil rights attitude of equality instead being directly linked to imperialism.
- ④ The NQ is peasant question and not struggle between competitive bourgeoisies.

The NQ & Class Struggle - Liu Chun

- ① In the final analysis nat'l struggle is a question of class struggle. True
- ② Proletariat must always bear in mind that in united fronts the anti-imperialism of the nat'l bourgeoisie is based on their class interests.
- ③ Three enemies of all nationalities of China: imperialism (foreign capitalists), feudalism (landlords), & bureaucrat-capitalism (national lackeys for foreign imperialists).
- ④ Fundamental principle for solving NQ in China: practice nat'l equality by lead & unite all nationalities in revolutionary struggle against the 3 great enemies.
 - (2) after revolutionary victory build a united country
 - (3) institute regional autonomy
 - (4) realize common development & prosperity of all nationalities
- ⑤ In solving NQ in China 2 points must be clearly understood (1) There are classes within every nationality (ask questions: Whose national interest, whose liberation, whose equality, progress - proletariat & peasant or bourgeoisie)
 - ② Who will solve the NQ? only solved thru revolutionary struggle carried out by broad masses of people of exploited classes of oppressed nationalities
- ⑥ After revolution, bourgeois members of nationalities will try to revive nationalism. Well to do persons incline spontaneously toward capitalism and are most liable to accept bourgeois nationalism.

- ⑦ The actual inequality between the various nationalities in economic and cultural development is an important part of the NQ during the period of socialist revolution and construction of our country. This inequality is a problem left by class society.

On New Democracy - Chapters 1-2

- ① Culture is a reflection of the political & economic of a given society. Economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics. Form of culture is first determined by the political & economic form and only then does it influence the form.
- ② 1940 China: predominantly colonial, semi-colonial & semi-feudal. Two steps to go then. (1) form an independent democratic society (2) build a socialist society.
- ③ Any revolution against imperialism in a colony or semi-colony is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. Because stage one is under the joint dictatorship of all classes and not just the bourgeoisie.
- ④ This new bourgeois-democratic revolution is part of the worldwide proletarian socialist revolution and has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed

peoples of the colonies & semi-colonies
as its allies. This is new bourgeois-democratic
revolution a part of the socialist revolution
because its revolt against imperialism
is a revolt against capitalism. Since
monopoly capitalism = imperialism a
country cannot be against imperialism
and for capitalism.

⑤ Bourgeoisie in China has a contradiction of
fighting imperialism but also fighting
the workers & peasants. This trait exists
in all countries' bourgeoisie but is
more pronounced in China.

⑥ 3 types of state systems according to class character
of political power: (1) republics under bourgeois
dictatorship (2) republics under dictatorship of
the proletariat (3) republics under joint dictatorship
of several revolutionary classes. # 3 is the
new type for colonial & semi-colonial nations.

⑦ Under "New Democracy" the state enterprises
will be of a socialist character and will
be the leading force in the national economy.
But the republic will neither confiscate private
property in general nor forbid development of
capitalist production that does not
dominate the livelihood of the people.

⑧ Gov't system will be one of all revolutionary
classes' dictatorship and battling the counter-
revolutionary classes. There must be universal
and equal suffrage and a structure of
democratic centralism. There must be
a refusal of the principle of "privately
owned by the few".

7-15200 PF Q2176

FBI
LABORATORY

FILE DESCRIPTION
BUREAU FILE

X

SUBJECT HEARNAP

FILE NO. 7-15200

SECTION NO. BUCKY EXHIBIT FOR

 serial 7919

(PART III)

OF
4
Parts

Q 2131 - 2132

Birth Certificate

74
9-19-25

1. NAME OF CHILD Joan Ann Wieder		2. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER California		3. DATE OF BIRTH June 8, 1945	
4. PLACE OF BIRTH: San Francisco		5. CITY OR TOWN: San Francisco		6. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA: 26	
7. HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION: University of California Hospital		8. COUNTY: San Francisco		9. MONTHS: 26	
10. DATE OF BIRTH: 12 hrs		11. CITY OR TOWN: San Francisco		12. YEARS: 26	
13. SEX: Female		14. STREET AND NUMBER: 800 Castro Street		15. CITY: San Francisco	
16. FATHER OF CHILD: Edward Joseph Wieder		17. MOTHER OF CHILD: Doris June Gillette		18. COLOR: white	
19. AGE AT TIME OF BIRTH: 26		20. USUAL OCCUPATION: Housewife		21. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS: own home	
22. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 4		23. MOTHER'S MAILING ADDRESS FOR REGISTRATION NOTICE: Mrs. Edward J. Wieder		24. DATE OF BIRTH: June 8, 1945	
25. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		26. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		27. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
28. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		29. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		30. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
31. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		32. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		33. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
34. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		35. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		36. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
37. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		38. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		39. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
40. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		41. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		42. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
43. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		44. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		45. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
46. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		47. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		48. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
49. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		50. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		51. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
52. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		53. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		54. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
55. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		56. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		57. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
58. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		59. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		60. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
61. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		62. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		63. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
64. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		65. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		66. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
67. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		68. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		69. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
70. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		71. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		72. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
73. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		74. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		75. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
76. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		77. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		78. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
79. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		80. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		81. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
82. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		83. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		84. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
85. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		86. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		87. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
88. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		89. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		90. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
91. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		92. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		93. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
94. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		95. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		96. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
97. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		98. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		99. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	
100. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		101. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0		102. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: 0	

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT, BEARING THE SEAL OF THE SAN FRANCISCO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, THIS IS A TRUE COPY OF THE DOCUMENT FILED IN THIS OFFICE.

NO. 5912-1

DATED: Nov. 12, 1974

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Francis J. Curry, M.D.
FRANCIS J. CURRY, M.D.
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH
AND LOCAL REGISTRAR

7-15200 PF Q2132

Jerry Bruce Carlton

Plumb

1. FULL NAME OF CHILD Jerry Bruce Carlton		2. MAIDEN SURNAME OF MOTHER Plumb	
3. PLACE OF BIRTH: (A) County Marin		4. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER (A) Length of Residence in California: 1 6	
(a) City or Town San Rafael		(a) State California	
(c) Name of Hospital or Institution San Rafael Cottage Hospital		(c) County Marin	
(b) Mother's stay before delivery in Hospital or Institution 3 hrs In this community Yes		(a) City or Town San Rafael	
(SPECIFY WHETHER YEARS, MONTHS OR DAYS)		(b) Street and Number 44 Meadows	
4. SEX Male	5. Twin or Triplet No	6. Number of Months of Pregnancy 9	7. DATE OF BIRTH January 29, 1944
8. FULL NAME Gerald Herr Carlton		9. FULL MAIDEN NAME Mildred Plumb	
10. COLOR White		10. COLOR White	
11. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 1 6 YEARS		11. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 27 YEARS	

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF MARIN

I, N. T. Giacomini, County Recorder in and for said County and State, hereby certify that the above and foregoing as hereunto annexed, is a full, true and correct copy of an Instrument of Record in my office, as the same appears recorded in Liber 17 of Births Page 590 of Marin County Records, and that the copy has been compared by me with the original, and is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original record.

WITNESS MY HAND and Official Seal this 18th day of December A. D., 1974

N. T. GIACOMINI,
County Recorder

By J. Stadler Deputy Recorder

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

7-15200 PF 02132

George William Dickerson

Oct 11

NAME OF CHILD

MAISON DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL

DATE OF BIRTH (1) County **Sanoma**

2. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

CITY OR TOWN **Petaluma**(1) STATE **California**

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION

(1) CITY **Sanoma**

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Petaluma General Hospital(1) CITY OR TOWN **Petaluma**

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

IF NOT IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION, CITY STREET NUMBER AND LOCATION

(1) CITY OR TOWN **Petaluma**

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

MOTHER'S STAY BEFORE DELIVERY, 3 hr

(1) STREET AND NUMBER **819 1 Street**

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

IF NOT IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION, CITY STREET NUMBER AND LOCATION

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Male

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

3. TWIN OR TRIPLET

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

FATHER OF CHILD

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

George Whitefield Dickerson

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Color **white**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Age at time of this birth **59**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Length of residence in California **18**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Birthplace **Colorado**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Usual occupation **Salesman**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Industry or business **Rex Hardware Co.**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Children born to this mother

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) How many other children of this mother are now living

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) How many other children were born alive but are now dead

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) How many children still in womb

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

I HEREBY CERTIFY, THAT I ATTESTED THE BIRTH OF THIS CHILD WHO WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOME OF

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

ON THE DATE HEREIN STATED AND THAT

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

ALL INFORMATION GIVEN WAS OBTAINED FROM

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

REGISTRAR'S SIGNATURE **M. B. Randall D.O.**

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

GIVEN NAME ADDED

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

DATE

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

SIGNATURE

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) PRENATAL COMPLICATIONS OF

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Acute sinusitis (antrum)

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) LABOR COMPLICATIONS OF

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

none

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(1) WAS THERE AN OPERATION

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

FOR DELIVERY

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

IF YES, STATE DATE

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

15 Silver Nitrate

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

(1) STREET AND NUMBER

(1) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

7-15200 PF Q2132

Marilyn Louise Miller

Hetta

ALL NAME OF CHILD
PLACE OF BIRTH: (A) COUNTY **Sonoma**
(B) CITY OR TOWN **Santa Rosa**
IF OUTSIDE CITY OR TOWN LIMITS, WRITE RURAL
(C) NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION
Eliza Tanner Hospital
IF NOT IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION, GIVE STREET NUMBER OR LOCATION
(D) MOTHER'S STAY BEFORE DELIVERY: **1 day** IN THIS COMMUNITY **1 yr**
SPECIFY WHETHER YEARS, MONTHS OR DAYS

MAIDEN SURNAME OF MOTHER
3. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER: (A) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA:
(B) STATE **California** **19**
(C) COUNTY **Sonoma** YEARS MONTHS DAYS
(D) CITY OR TOWN **Santa Rosa** YEARS MONTHS DAYS
IF OUTSIDE CITY OR TOWN LIMITS, WRITE RURAL
(E) STREET AND NUMBER **rural**

SEX **Female** 5. TWIN OR IF SO—BORN
TRIPLET 1ST 2D 3D

6. NUMBER OF MONTHS OF PREGNANCY **8** 7. DATE OF BIRTH **February 29, 1944**
MONTH DAY YEAR

FATHER OF CHILD
FULL NAME **Norman Louis Miller**
1. COLOR OR RACE **white** 10. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH **28**
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA **28** YEARS MONTHS DAYS
2. BIRTHPLACE **California**
3. USUAL OCCUPATION **Farmer**
4. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS **for self**
11. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER:
(A) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN OF THIS MOTHER ARE NOW LIVING? **2**
(B) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD? **0**
(C) HOW MANY CHILDREN WERE BORN DEAD? **0**

MOTHER OF CHILD
15. FULL MAIDEN NAME **Virginia Mae Hetta**
16. COLOR OR RACE **white** 17. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH **24**
18. BIRTHPLACE **Iowa**
19. USUAL OCCUPATION **Housewife**
20. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS **Home**
22. MOTHER'S MAILING ADDRESS FOR REGISTRATION NOTICE:
Mrs. N.L. Miller
4830 Occidental Road
Santa Rosa, California

13. I HEREBY CERTIFY, THAT I ATTENDED THE BIRTH OF THIS CHILD WHO WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR OF **7:55p** M. ON THE DATE ABOVE STATED AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WAS FURNISHED BY **Mrs. Miller** RELATED TO THIS CHILD AS **mother**

14. DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR **March 3, 1944**
15. REGISTRAR'S SIGNATURE **E.J. Helgren** **bm**
16. GIVEN NAME ADDED: DATE BY REGISTRAR

ATTENDANT'S OWN SIGNATURE **A.A. Thurley**
M.D., MIDWIFE OR OTHER **M.D.** DATE SIGNED **3/2/44**
ADDRESS **Santa Rosa, Calif.**

17. (A) PREGNANCY, COMPLICATIONS OF: **none**
(B) LABOR, COMPLICATIONS OF: **assault posterior**
INDUCED: **no**
(C) WAS THERE AN OPERATION FOR DELIVERY? **yes** STATE ALL OPERATIONS: **Forceps delivery**
(D) WAS A PROPHYLACTIC DRUG USED IN THE BIRTH? **yes** IF YES, STATE DRUG **1% silver nitrate**

(E) DID THE BIRTH HAVE ANY CONGENITAL MALFORMATION? **no** DESCRIBE:
BIRTH INJURY: **no** DESCRIBE:
(F) WAS A SEROLOGICAL TEST MADE FOR SYPHILIS IN THIS MOTHER? **yes**
IF SO, AT WHAT PERIOD OF GESTATION? **3** MOS.
IF NOT, WHY NOT?

STATE OF CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH **CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH** U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

7-15200 PF Q2132
FBI

7-15200 PF Q2132
FBI
LABORATORY

Rhoda Janet Jones

Long

FULL NAME OF CHILD

MOTHER'S SURNAME OF BIRTH

2. PLACE OF BIRTH: (A) COUNTY Sonoma
(B) CITY OR TOWN Petaluma
(C) NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION
Petaluma General Hospital
(D) MOTHER'S STAY BEFORE DELIVERY
IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION 12 hr IN THIS COMMUNITY 1 yr

3. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER: (A) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
IN CALIFORNIA: 1 6
(B) STATE California
(C) COUNTY Sonoma
(D) CITY OR TOWN Petaluma
(E) STREET AND NUMBER 1003 Western Ave.

4. SEX Female 5. THIS OR
IF DO—DOES
TRIPLET NO NO NO

6. NUMBER OF MONTHS OF PREGNANCY 9 7. DATE OF BIRTH September 27 1941

FATHER OF CHILD

MOTHER OF CHILD

8. FULL NAME David Oliver Jones
9. COLOR OR RACE white 10. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 21
11. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 1 5 YEARS
12. BIRTHPLACE Missouri
13. USUAL OCCUPATION Farmer
14. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS

15. FULL NAME Rhoda Elizabeth Long
16. COLOR OR RACE white 17. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 20
18. BIRTHPLACE Missouri
19. USUAL OCCUPATION Housewife
20. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS

21. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER:
(A) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN OF THIS MOTHER ARE NOW LIVING? 0
(B) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD? 0
(C) HOW MANY CHILDREN WERE BORN DEAD? 0

22. MOTHER'S MAILING ADDRESS FOR REGISTRATION NOTICE:
1003 Western Ave.
Petaluma, Calif.

23. I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I ATTENDED THE BIRTH OF THIS CHILD WHO WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR OF 2:09 P. ON THE DATE ABOVE STATED AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WAS FURNISHED BY Mrs. Jones RELATED TO THIS CHILD AS Mother

24. DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR 9/29/41

ATTENDANT'S SIGNATURE E. W. Lewis M.D.

25. REGISTRAR'S SIGNATURE N. B. Rundall D.O.

M.D., MIDWIFE OR OTHER M.D. DATE SIGNED 9/29/41

26. GIVEN NAME ADDED BY REGISTRAR

ADDRESS Petaluma, Calif.

27. (A) PREGNANCY, COMPLICATIONS OF: none
(B) LABORS, COMPLICATIONS OF: none
(C) WAS THERE AN OPERATION FOR DELIVERY? NO STATE ALL OPERATIONS: none
(D) WAS A PROPHYLACTIC DRUG USED IN THE BIRTH? YES IF YES, STATE DRUG Silver Nitrate

(E) DID THE BIRTH HAVE ANY CONGENITAL MALFORMATION? no
(F) BIRTH INJURY? none EMBOLISM: none
(G) WAS A SEROLOGICAL TEST MADE FOR SYPHILIS IN THIS MOTHER? yes
IF SO, AT WHAT PERIOD OF GESTATION? 2
IF NOT, WHY NOT?

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

7-15200 PF 02132

Ronnie Ann Frost

DISTRICT NO. **902**

PAR'S NO. **52**
225

Reese

NAME OF CHILD		MOTHER'S SURNAME OF MOTHER	
AGE OF BIRTH: (A) COUNTY Sonoma		3. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER: (A) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA: 18	
CITY OR TOWN Santa Rosa IF OUTSIDE CITY OR TOWN LIMITS, WHITE RURAL		(B) STATE California	
NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION Eliza Tanner Hospital		(C) COUNTY Sonoma	
IF NOT IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION, GIVE STREET NUMBER OR LOCATION		(D) CITY OR TOWN Santa Rosa	
MOTHER'S STAY BEFORE DELIVERY 11 hrs 10 yrs		(E) STREET AND NUMBER 314 Brown Street	
5. TWIN OR TRIPLET Twin IF SO—BORN 1st 2d 3d		6. NUMBER OF MONTHS OF PREGNANCY 8	
FATHER OF CHILD Harold Bonnie Frost		7. DATE OF BIRTH February 9, 1944	
FULL NAME Harold Bonnie Frost		MOTHER OF CHILD Boulah Emma Reese	
COLOR white		13. FULL MAIDEN NAME Boulah Emma Reese	
RACE white		16. COLOR OR RACE white	
10. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 27		17. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 29	
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 1		18. BIRTHPLACE South Dakota	
BIRTHPLACE Vallejo		19. USUAL OCCUPATION Housewife	
USUAL OCCUPATION Laundryman		20. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS None	
INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS Santa Rosa Steam Laundry		22. MOTHER'S MAILING ADDRESS FOR REGISTRATION NOTICE: Mrs. Harold Frost 314 Brown Street Santa Rosa, Calif.	
CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER:			
(A) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN OF THIS MOTHER ARE NOW LIVING? 2			
(B) HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD? 0			
(C) HOW MANY CHILDREN WERE BORN DEAD? 0			
I HEREBY CERTIFY, THAT I ATTENDED THE BIRTH OF THIS CHILD WHO WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR OF 11:45 P.M. ON THE DATE ABOVE STATED AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WAS FURNISHED BY Mrs. Frost RELATED TO THIS CHILD AS mother			
DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR Feb. 15, 1944		ATTENDANT'S OWN SIGNATURE A.A. Thurlow	
REGISTRAR'S SIGNATURE E.J. Halgren		M.D., MIDWIFE OR OTHER M.D. DATE SIGNED 2/10/44	
GIVEN NAME ADDED DATE BY REGISTRAR		ADDRESS Santa Rosa, Calif.	
(A) PREGNANCY, COMPLICATIONS OF: no		(E) DID THE BABY HAVE ANY CONGENITAL MALFORMATIONS? no DESCRIBE:	
(B) LABOR, COMPLICATIONS OF: Premature labor INDUCED? no		BIRTH INJURY? no DESCRIBE:	
(C) WAS THERE AN OPERATION FOR DELIVERY? no STATE ALL OPERATIONS:		(F) WAS A SEROLOGICAL TEST MADE FOR SYPHILIS IN THIS MOTHER? yes	
(D) WAS A PROPHYLACTIC DRUG USED IN THE BABY'S EYES? yes IF YES, STATE DRUG 1% silver nitrate OR NO		IF SO, AT WHAT PERIOD OF GESTATION? 5th NOS.	
		IF NOT, WHY NOT?	

The within Document is a correct copy of the original in this office.

ATTEST: DEC 11 1944

HERB SNYDER,
County Recorder in and for
County, State of California
By *[Signature]*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

7-15200 PF Q2132

Anna Rebecca Marshall

Flippin

2101

Register's No. 236

47

Marin
San Rafael

San Rafael Cottage Hospital

78 hrs

Yes

California

Marin

Marin City

Box 652

Female

9

July 4, 1944

FATHER OF CHILD

Richard Paul Marshall

White

34

Oklahoma

MOTHER OF CHILD

Helen Flippin

White

Oklahoma

33

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF MARIN

ss.

I, N. T. Giacomini, County Recorder in and for said County and State, hereby certify that the above and foregoing as herunto annexed, is a full, true and correct copy of an Instrument of Record in my office, as the same appears recorded in Liber 18 of Births Page 47 of Marin County Records, and that the copy has been compared by me with the original, and is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original record.

WITNESS MY HAND and Official Seal this 22nd day of July A. D., 1975

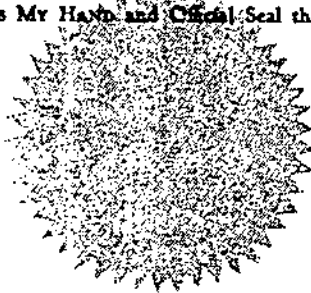
N. T. GIACOMINI,
County Recorder

By

Phyllis Byrne

Deputy Recorder

Phyllis Byrne



7-15200 PF 02132

Direct No. 2101		Resident's No. 498		530
Judy Viola Sanderson		Lo Comaghy		
PLACE OF BIRTH (a) County Marin		USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER		
(b) City of Town San Rafael		(a) State California 19		
(c) Name of Hospital or Institution San Rafael Cottage Hospital		(b) County Marin		
(d) Mother's age before delivery 9 hrs		(c) City or Town Marin City		
In Hospital or Institution Yes		(d) Street and Number		
4 SEX Female	5 Twin or Triplet	6 Number of Months of Pregnancy 7	DATE OF BIRTH October 21, 194	
FATHER OF CHILD		MOTHER OF CHILD		
3 FULL NAME Orville Charles Sanderson		15 FULL NAME Iris May Lo Comaghy		
9 COLOR White		16 COLOR White		
10 Age at time of birth 23		17 Age at time of birth 19		
11 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 10		18 BIRTHPLACE California		
12 BIRTHPLACE Kansas				

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }
COUNTY OF MARIN } ss.

I, N. T. Giacomini, County Recorder in and for said County and State, hereby certify that the above and foregoing as hereunto annexed, is a full, true and correct copy of an Instrument of Record in my office, as the same appears recorded

in Liber 17 of Births Page 330
of Marin County Records, and that the copy has been compared by me with the original, and is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original record.

WITNESS MY HAND and Official Seal this 11th day of December A. D. 1974

N. T. GIACOMINI,
County Recorder

By *J. Stadler*
J. Stadler Deputy Recorder

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

DISTRICT NO. **4953** REGISTRAR'S NO. **130**
315

Gerald Ralph Bohny

Baldauf

NAME OF CHILD Gerald Ralph Bohny		MAIDEN SURNAME OF MOTHER Baldauf	
PLACE OF BIRTH A. COUNTY Sonoma B. CITY OR TOWN Sebastopol IF OUTSIDE CITY OR TOWN, WRITE RURAL		3. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER: (A) STATE California (B) COUNTY Sonoma (C) CITY OR TOWN Monte Rio IF OUTSIDE CITY OR TOWN, WRITE RURAL (D) STREET AND NUMBER P. O. Box 338	
NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION Palm Drive Hospital IF IN HOSPITAL, OR INSTITUTION, GIVE STREET NUMBER OR LOCATION		(A) LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA: YEARS 13 MONTHS 9 DAYS 9	
MOTHER'S STAY BEFORE DELIVERY: 8 hr IN THIS COMMUNITY 9 yr. IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION IF 100 HOURS OR MORE, GIVE DATE		7. DATE OF BIRTH March 6 1944 NORTH ST. NAME DAY YEAR	
5. TWIN OR TRIPLET 1st 2d 3d		8. NUMBER OF MONTHS OF PREGNANCY 8	
FATHER OF CHILD 9. FULL NAME Alfred Frederick Bohny 10. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 39 YEARS 11. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA 13 YEARS MONTHS 13 DAYS 12. BIRTHPLACE Switzerland 13. USUAL OCCUPATION Carotaker 14. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS Summer Camp		MOTHER OF CHILD 15. FULL MAIDEN NAME Juliana Baldauf 16. COLOR OR RACE White 17. AGE AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH 35 YEARS 18. BIRTHPLACE Germany 19. USUAL OCCUPATION Housewife 20. INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS Own Home	
21. CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MOTHER: A. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN OF THIS MOTHER ARE NOW LIVING? 2 B. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD? 0 C. HOW MANY CHILDREN WERE BORN DEAD? 0		22. MOTHER'S MAILING ADDRESS FOR REGISTRATION NOTICE: Mrs. Alfred F. Bohny P. O. Box 338 Monte Rio, California	
I HEREBY CERTIFY, THAT I ATTENDED THE BIRTH OF THIS CHILD WHO WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR OF 5:30 a.m. ON THE DATE ABOVE STATED AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WAS FURNISHED BY Mrs. A. F. Bohny RELATED TO THIS CHILD AS mother			
DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR 3-10-44		ATTENDANT'S OWN SIGNATURE Ernest Vieira, M.D.	
REGISTRAR'S SIGNATURE E. D. Barnett, M.D. LP		M.D., MIDWIFE OR OTHER M.D. DATE SIGNED 3-8-44	
GIVEN NAME ADDED DATE BY REGISTRAR		ADDRESS Sebastopol, California	
A. PREGNANCY, COMPLICATIONS OF: None		(E) DID THE BABY HAVE ANY CONGENITAL MALFORMATION? No DESCRIBE: None	
LABOR, COMPLICATIONS OF: None		BIRTH INJURY: No DESCRIBE: None	
WAS THERE AN OPERATION No STATE ALL OPERATIONS: None		(F) WAS A SEROLOGICAL TEST MADE FOR SYPHILIS IN THIS MOTHER? Yes	
WAS A PROPHYLACTIC DRUG USED IN THE BABY'S EYES? Yes 1% Silver Nitrate		IF YES, AT WHAT PERIOD OF GESTATION? 5 NOS.	
IF YES, STATE DRUG		IF NOT, WHY NOT?	

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

The within Document is a correct copy of the record in this office.

ATTEST: **DEC 11 1944**

HERB SNYDER, JR.
County Recorder in and for Sonoma County, State of California
By **[Signature]** Deputy Recorder

COUNTY OF MARIN
OFFICE OF
N. T. GIACOMINI, COUNTY RECORDER
CIVIC CENTER, SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA
94903

Men

1942

1944

1944



IF NOT DELIVERED IN 10 DAYS RETURN TO
HERB SNYDER, JR.
COUNTY RECORDER OF SONOMA COUNTY
COUNTY ADMINISTRATION CENTER
2555 MENDOCINO AVENUE
SANTA ROSA, CALIFORNIA 95401

Women

1941

1943

1944

1944

1944

1945

Eyron Cwen CANAWAY b. 8/26/45-- d. 10/28/45 (white)
San Francisco, Ca.
f. Edward C. Canaway, Ohio
m. Geneva P. Durbin, New Mexico

ALAMEDA

Jan GRAVESON b. 7/31/39-- d. 7/29/44 (white) MALE
Berkeley, Ca.
f. Richard C. Graveson, Nebraska
m. Alyce Estradie, Hampshire, England

7-15200 PF Q2131

MARIN

LARRY LEE HOUSTON (W.M.)

B. - 2/2/44

D. - 3/7/44

FATHER - GEORGE HOUSTON

MOTHER - MATTIE CUMMINGS

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

CAUSE OF DEATH - PNEUMONIA

MARIN

ARTHUR ROBERT JEWETT (W.M.)

B. - 2/23/43

D. - 9/8/46

FATHER - ARTHUR ROBIN JEWETT

MOTHER - MARGARET BUDWORTH

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

CAUSE OF DEATH - KILLED BY BAKERY TRUCK

JOHN LAURENCE FLYNN JR. (W,m)

B. - AUG. 19, 1944 SAN RAFAEL
D. - SEPT. 25, 1944 PNEUMONIA
FA. - JOHN L. FLYNN
MO. - MARGARET WYLD

MARIN

GEORGE Wm. FAUSTINE (W,m)

B. - JULY 30, 1944 SAN RAFAEL
D. - OCT. 19, 1944 PNEUMONIA
FA. - FRANK FAUSTINE
MO. - LILLIAN BARKER

7-15200 PF Q2131

Ernest D. LUTTRELL b. 9/18/43-- d. 7/22/44 (white)
Atoka, Okla.
f. Jesse Homer Luttrell
m. Mary Talitha Jordan

Jerry Gilbert HAMBLIN b. 4/19/40--d. 5/26/44 (white)
Norton, Kansas
f. Everett Hamblin, Norton Co., Kansas
m. Aris Page, Lebanon, Kansas

FALL RIVER MILLS
SANTA CRUZ

Robert Edward MASON b. 4/29/ 42-- d. 2/19/44 (white)
Santa Cruz
f. Evans Browning Mason
m. Inez Agatha Ray

Jonathan Bruce DOLLARHIDE b. 12/2/41--d. 3/28/43
Fall River Mills, Ca.
f. John Franklin Dollarhide, Fall River Mills, Ca,
m. Evelyn Howard, Ca.

7-15200 PF Q2131

NEW HAVEN
CONN

[MARIN]

JUNIOR DOUGLAS STUART (w,m)

B. - AUG 15, 1946 NEW HAVEN, CONN.
D. - AUG 31, 1949 DROWNING
FA. - ROBT. DOUGLAS STUART JR.
MO. - BARBARA McMAHON EDWARDS

[MARIN]

ERWIN CARL MILLER (w,m)

B. - JAN 30, 1949 SAN RAFAEL
D. - DEC 22, 1949 SUFFOCATION
FA. - RAY B. MILLER
MO. - MABEL GILLESPIE

MARY JO KENRICK (W.F.)

B. - 6/26/46

D. - 6/1/49

FATHER - JOSEPH L. KENRICK

MOTHER - KATHERINE BAUM

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

MARIO

JOANNE MARIE CRETTI (W.F.)

B - 7/13/46

D - 8/8/46

FATHER - VITTORIO CRETTI

MOTHER - CAROLINE GIOMI

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

CAUSE OF DEATH - SUFFOCATION

7-15200 PF Q2131

SUZANNE FLODORA JACKSON (W.F.)

MARIN

B. - 10/16/48
D. - 10/20/48

FATHER - FRANK EDWARD JACKSON
MOTHER - FLODORA ARVILLA SULLIVAN

PLACE OF BIRTH - HAMILTON FIELD

CAUSE OF DEATH - PNEUMONIA

LINDA LEE FLOYD (W.F.)

MARIN

B. - 9/23/48
D. - 4/18/49

FATHER - ELVIN FLOYD
MOTHER - ROSE BRABO

PLACE OF BIRTH - MARIN

CAUSE OF DEATH - SUFFOCATION

7-15200 PF Q2131

MARIN

SANDRA LEE WHITE (W.F.)

B - 9/23/51

D - 6/6/52

FATHER - ROBERT WHITE

MOTHER - BONNA LEE LEACH

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

MARIN

GWENDOLYN COLLINS (W,F)

B. - DEC. 1, 1948 SAN RAFAEL

D. - JAN. 28, 1950 MENINGITIS

FA. - LEE F. COLLINS

MO. - HESTER V. CREEK

MARY Jo CRUMPLER (W.F.)

B. — AUG 28, 1943 MARIN
D. — FEB. 22, 1944 BLOOD INFECTION
FA. — JOSEPH CRUMPLER
MO. — EDITH FRITTS

MARIN

EDWINA MARGARET LEARY (W.F.)

B. — 12/10/42
P. — 12/10/42

FATHER — JAMES LEARY
MOTHER — JOSEPHINE E. CODONI

PLACE OF BIRTH — SAN RAFAEL

7-15200 PF Q2131

LOIS GWENDOLYN GASKILL (W,F)

B. — JAN. 16, 1944 MARIN
D. — MARCH 25, 1944 INTES. INFECTION
FA. — Wm. C. GASKILL
MO. — EDITH B. STOLDER

NANCY ALICE REED (W.F.)

B. — 8/5/46
D. — 12/26/48

FATHER — SAMUEL B. REED
MOTHER — ANNA B. GRIMES

PLACE OF BIRTH — ROSS, CA.

CAUSE OF DEATH — MENINGITIS

7-15200 PF Q2131

CINCINNATI
AIO [unclear]
JUDITH MARIAN ABBOTT (W.F.)

B. - FEB. 8, 1943

D. - OCT. 31, 1948

FATHER - ANDREW DOYLE ABBOTT

MOTHER - EDITH ARNOLD

PLACE OF BIRTH - CINCINNATI, OHIO

CAUSE OF DEATH - LEUKEMIA

SAN DIEGO
SOUTH DAKOTA

Kathleen DENNISON b. 10/8/41-- d. 4/14/44 (white)
- San Diego, Ca.
f. Jewell Dennison
m. Frances Sylvester

Ila Jean LIVINGSTON b. 9/7/36-- d. 6/22/44 (white)
Isabell, South Dakota
f. Harold E. Livingston
m. Helen Young

7-15200 PF 02131

MARIN

Wesley Munroe JOHNSON b. 3/20/43-- d. 6/26/44 (white)
San Rafael, Ca.
f. Carroll E. Johnson
m. Exalue Shaw

Lynn Paul DE MARTINI b. 4/10/40--d. 7/20/40 MALE
San Rafael, Ca.
f. Darrell Paul DeMartini
m. Eleitta N. Williams

MARIN

Eddie Ray SHAW b. 12/18/43-- d. 1/29/44 (white)
Kentfield, Ca.
f. Clarence W. Shaw
m. Anna E. Schutz

Lawrence David PROUDFIT b. 6/29/40-- d. 10/5/40
Kentfield, Ca.
f. Charles Cecil Proudfit
m. Dorothea Bullis

Reed Laidley CRAWFORD JR. b. 12/16/36-- d. 10/13/40
Kentfield, Ca.
f. Reed Laidley Crawford
m. Julie Connolly

7-15200 PF 02131

DENISE MARIE TAYLOR (W.F.)

MARIN

B - 2/6/52

D - 2/7/52

FATHER - DONALD C. TAYLOR

MOTHER - INEZ J. CUNEO

PLACE OF BIRTH - HAMILTON AIR FORCE
BASE

VICKIE LEE HARDIN (W.F.)

MARIN

B - 3/16/52

FATHER - WILLIAM L. HARDIN

MOTHER - ELEANOR ANDREWS

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

7-15200 PF 02131

(Sonoma)
Linda Margaret PONCIA 2/21/39 born.--d. 1/16/43
Petaluma, rural, Sonoma
f. Ermenio Poncia, Valley Ford, Ca.
m. Emma Louise Coats, Ca.

Regina Laverne EDWARDS b. 7/10/42-- d. 3/3/44 (white)
Vallejo, Ca.
f. Cecil W. Edwards
m. Mary L. Erskene

PATTY JUNE FERRELL (W.F.)

MARIN

B- 2/2/52

D- 2/3/52

FATHER - WARREN FERRELL

MOTHER - JUNE HULBERT

PLACE OF BIRTH - SAN RAFAEL

7-15200 PF Q2131

Zelvina S'EARD b. 7/30/32-- d. 5/10/44 (Indian)
Sonoma Co., Ca. Sonoma Co. Hospital records
f. William Sheard
m. Elizabeth Pinole

SONOMA

Jeanette GROOMS b. 10/29/42-- d. 2/15/43
Fetter Springs, Sonoma, Ca.
f. Charles F. Grooms, Waldo, Wis.
m. Bertha Lewis, Pamona, Ca.

Rita Gail ROBBINS b. 7/18/43-- d. 2/2/43
Hoaldsburg, Ca.
f. Merton Robbins, Hoaldsburg
m. Naudie Baker, Lake Co., Ca.

7-15200 PF Q2131

WESLEY VINCENT DICKINSON (w,●)

B. — JULY 5, 1948 SAN RAFAEL
D. — OCT. 19, 1949 STRANGULATION
FA. — PHILIP E. DICKINSON
MO. — LORRAINE ROBERTSON

MARIN

FRED ALLEN MALLOY (w.m.)

B. — 9/8/46
D. — 1/20/47

FATHER — E. PATRICK MALLOY
MOTHER — DOROTHY GIPSON

PLACE OF BIRTH — SAN RAFAEL

CAUSE OF DEATH — PNEUMONIA

7-15200 PF 02131

(MARIN)

LAURENCE CLYDE WHITE (w,m)

B. - AUG. 10, 1948 KENTFIELD
D. - FEB. 17, 1950 FALL
FA. - Wm. LAURENCE WHITE
MO. - LEAH SIMON

(MARIN)

FRED EARL MITCHELL III (w,m)

B. - JAN. 12, 1948 RUSS
D. - JAN. 16, 1950 SUFFOCATION
FA. - FRED EARL MITCHELL II
MO. - LIANE DELAFONTAINE

BRUCE HOWARD DRUMM (w,m)

B. - DEC. 6, 1949 HAMILTON FIELD
D. - DEC. 19, 1949 SUFFOCATION
FA. - CARL DRUMM
Mo. - VIVIAN EDMONDS

MARIN

KENNETH JAMES HEALY (w,m)

B. - AUG. 22, 1949 SAN RAFAEL
D. - OCT. 25, 1949 SUFFOCATION
FA. - DON HEALY
Mo. - CAROL BEEDLE

7-15200 PF Q2131

MARIN

JOHN LEONARD LAFASCO (w,m)

B. - APRIL 27, 1945 SAN RAFAEL

D. - JULY 1, 1945 SUFFOCATION

FA. - JOHN LAFASCO

MO. - LEONE JOHNSON

Thomas Fitzmorris Bond
S. of D. San Rafael, Calif (Died Nov
Male 10, 1946)
White
B.O. - August 8, 1944
B.P. San Rafael, Calif.
Father Henry G. Bond
Spokane, Washington
Mother Thelma Fitzmorris
Bakersfield, Calif.
Acute Pharyngitis, tracheo laryngitis

7-15200 PF Q2131

FBI

John A. FINCHUM b. 10/22/30-- d. 5/10/41
Sonoma-- rural
f. Anderson Finchum, Tennessee
m. Emma A. Vinter, Texas

SANTA ROSA

Sidney PARRISH b. 5/2/42-- d. 10/13/42
Santa Rosa (Sebastopol-- rural)
f. Sidney Parrish, Manchester, Ca.
m. Essie Pinole, Stewarts Point
M.I.S. INDIAN (?)

MARIN

REPORT OF BIRTH 1. 1/11/50 - J. M. L. L.
1. 1/11/50
1. 1/11/50, 1. 1/11/50, 1. 1/11/50
1. 1/11/50, 1. 1/11/50, 1. 1/11/50

MARIN

PATRICIA ANN BURCH (W,F)

B. - FEB. 10, 1941 SAN RAFAEL
D. - APRIL 24, 1945 TUMOR
FA. - MAURICE EUGENE BURCH
MO. - ELEANOR M. KAPLICE

7-15200 PF Q2131
FBI

SPOKANE WASH

~~Isabel~~ Isabelle May Ott

P.O.D. San Anselmo (Marin. Died Nov
Female
White 17, 1946)

B.D. Sept 14, 1916
at Spokane, Washington

Father: Chas. William Ott
B.P. Duncanville, Penn.

Mother: Isabel May Lutz
Newcastle, Nebraska

Suffocation while lying on bed

7-15200 PF Q2131

SONOMA
~~AMERICA~~

JERRY DON PRUITT (W.M.)

B. - 9/6/46

D. - 8/17/48

FATHER - JOHN PRUITT

MOTHER - CATHERINE MASTERS

PLACE OF BIRTH - NAPA

CAUSE OF DEATH - BURNS

7-15200 PF Q2131

~~FBI~~

IF NOT DELIVERED IN 10 DAYS RETURN TO
HERB SNYDER JR.
COUNTY RECORDER OF SONOMA COUNTY
COUNTY ADMINISTRATION CENTER
2555 MENDOCINO AVENUE
SANTA ROSA, CALIFORNIA 95401

AD
7RD
9-19-75

WOMEN

IF NOT DELIVERED IN 10 DAYS RETURN TO
HERB SNYDER, JR.
COUNTY RECORDER OF SONOMA COUNTY
COUNTY ADMINISTRATION CENTER
2555 MENDOCINO AVENUE
SANTA ROSA, CALIFORNIA 95401

7RD
9-19-75
AD

MEN

7-15200 - PF
U

LEADERSHIP

1. Why is leadership necessary?
2. What is military/political leadership?
collective vs. authoritarian (example of triangle)
qualities of leadership
3. How does leadership function?
what leader does
how leader is picked
how other members work with leader
how leadership changes
question of respect for leader and each other
person can only lead if others support
responsibility of everyone to make the leader
stronger and vice versa. People becoming
stronger makes leader and cell stronger.
no super heroes, no myths.
if we have no leader then we must look for one
leader cant know everything and mistakes will
be made if one person does all the thinking
no passive acquiescence to leader -- collective
participation in struggling to achieve the
best decision but no pushing of one posi-
tion in an individualist way.
4. Rebelliousness to leadership
results from bourgeois conditioning against
leadership
know it all attitudes, arrogance
rebelliousness to a person that may know a lot
more; ego
competitiveness
ultra-democracy
individualism, often resulting in un-openness
to learn and reluctance to follow suggestions
of leader or others.
5. Role of all of us ^{as potential} vanguard (leadership).
set example that will make others feel that
they trust us to lead them in the fight.
develop the trust with other strong, dedicated
comrades thru our practice that will make
them want to work with us
act as advisors to other leaders of other cells.

-----THANKS FOR PICKING ME UP-----

You asked me to dance
I said, "Hey now
I don't know how"
(Besides-- there was no one else on the floor
or was it a roof top
or...

All you had to say
was to stretch out your arms
You pulled me to my feet and smiled
"This first one is on me
The next one is on you."

It wasn't hard
It wasn't easy
I was suprised
or was I

All this time I had talked about
Dancing Dancing
(I just never got around to
getting to my feet)
I had told myself
It's not time to dance
I had told you
It's not time to dance
Time to dance
Time to dance

Yesterday was the time to dance
Now is the time to dance
To turn the world around
To get down in the streets of Babylon
To dance and keep on dancing
Rap said, "We dance on glass just to stay fast
For our best and last
is going to be in the swine's ass."

7-15200 PE Q2130

Miscellaneous Facts

1. Dynamite is composed of varying percentages of nitroglycerin (30-50%), potassium nitrate (30-50%), wood pulp (10%), and calcium carbonate or magnesium carbonate. The first two are explosives, the wood pulp is for absorption, and the last element is a stabilizer. Different substances can also be used e.g. ammonium nitrate instead of nitroglycerin, depending on whose formula for dynamite is used. (There are hundreds)
2. There are different kinds of fuses. One, called primacord, burns at 8500 ft./sec. Most others are called safety fuse and burn at 20-45 sec./ft.
3. A powerful explosive can be made by combining ammonium nitrate and fuel oil. Ammonium nitrate is available at nurseries in the form of fertilizer.
4. Some other common types of explosives (most are more sophisticated forms of dynamite) are: blasting gelatin, gelignite, gelatin dynamite, trinitrotoluene (TNT), and plastic explosives.

The blasting cap must somehow be inserted into the mass of the secondary high explosive. For example, in a stick of dynamite a hole must be made to insert the cap.

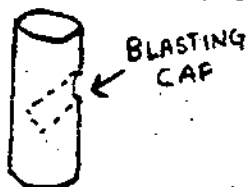


Fig 2

III. Setting off blasting caps

- 1) non-electric- a fuse is simply inserted into the cap and lit
- 2) electric- a piece of insulated wire is inserted into the cap, but the insulation on the portion that passes through the flash charge is removed. The ends of the wire are connected to an electrical power source (e.g. dry cell battery). When the circuit is completed the portion of the wire where the insulation is removed will become hot enough to set off the flash charge.

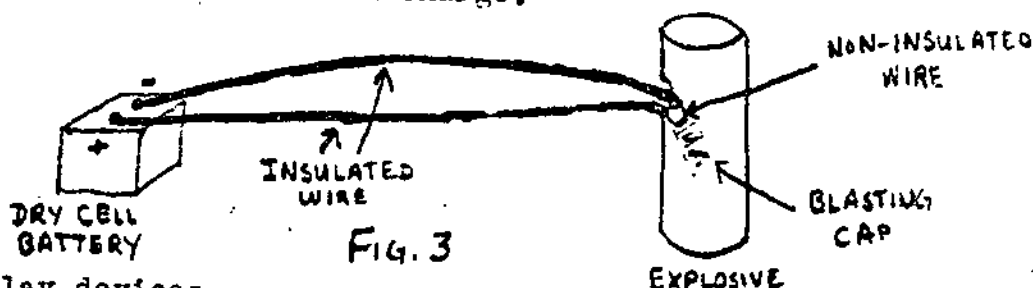


FIG. 3

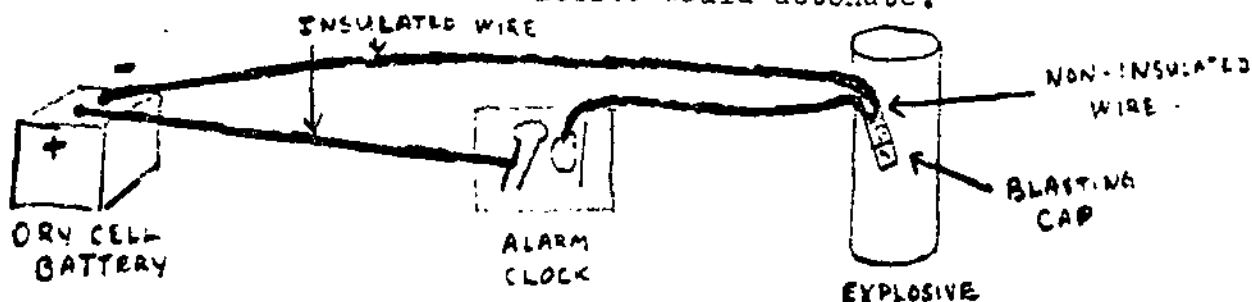
IV. Delay devices

If the above apparatus were connected with an alarm clock so that the circuit would not be completed until the alarm went off the timing of the explosion can be totally controlled. The simplest example is that of an alarm clock with a hammer and bell mechanism. When the alarm goes off, the hammer will strike the bell.



FIG. 4

If the wire in Fig. 3 were connected to the bell and hammer of the clock, then when the alarm went off the circuit would be completed and the explosive would detonate.



Explosives can be divided into two main categories:

- 1) High explosives- fast reaction rate with lots of power
- 2) Low explosives- slower reaction rate with less power

Each type has its particular uses. For example, high explosives are more effective for things like mining but if they were put in handgun ammunition the gun would explode when the trigger was pulled. Thus, low explosives are used in ammunition.

High explosives can be divided into two categories

- 1) Primary- these will detonate by simple ignition;
e.g. spark, flame, impact
- 2) Secondary- these require a detonator or booster
i.e. a smaller explosion which in turn
sets them off. Usually this smaller
explosion is initiated by a "blasting cap".

Examples:

Primary High	Secondary High	Low
Mercury fulminate	Nitroglycerin	Black Powder
Lead azide	Ammonium Nitrate	Smokeless Powder
Lead styphnate	Picric Acid	
	TNT	

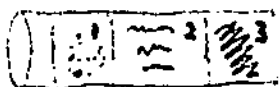
Construction of Bombs

I. Simple Black Powder Pipe Bomb

A small section of pipe is filled with black powder and sealed at both ends. A hole is drilled in one end so that a fuse can be inserted. The fuse is lit and when it burns down to the powder the black powder explodes.

II. Bombs With Blasting Caps

A blasting cap looks like a section of copper tubing. It has three different explosives in it.



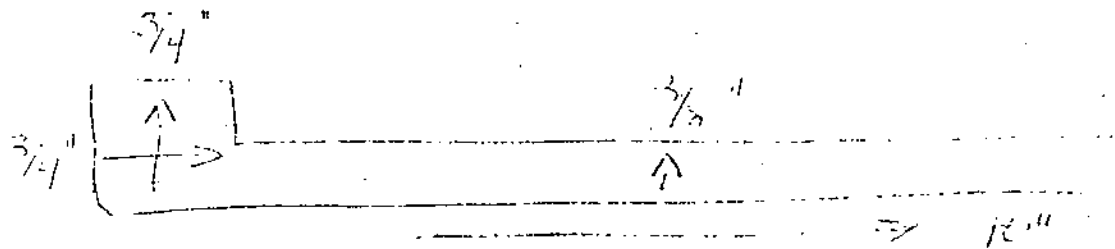
- 1 - FLASH
- 2 - PRIMARY
- 3 - BASE

Fig. 1 - BLASTING CAP

The flash charge is a low explosive which will create enough of a flame when it comes in contact with heat or spark to set off the primary charge.

The primary charge is a primary high explosive (usually mercury fulminate) which will set off the base charge.

The base charge is a secondary high explosive.



Small piece $\frac{3}{8}"$ \uparrow \rightarrow $12"$

diam $\frac{1}{16}"$ cutting margin

material is cold rolled, round edge

half hard temper steel bars

$\frac{1}{16}"$ thick by either $1"$ wide

or $\frac{3}{4}"$ wide

Small ^{welded} pin is bolted steel and $12"$

Natl question - separation vs. unity

failure of revolutionaries to lead
People are desperate for change
but lack leadership & examples

importance of
mass struggle and its links to armed struggle

people must prepare themselves to fight because
at some point masses may be needed to sway
initially guerrillas form the armed axis } the balance of
while parallel and complementary } power
tactics are ^{also} used - all intended
to educate & mobilize the people for the
all-out war

Imperialism will only be destroyed by a conscious
united people.

Consciousness can be developed by linking
day to day survival struggles with
imperialism and capitalism

violence and the left. Mzanga

revolution will encounter many years of
failure

not all will fight or need to but all
must prepare themselves just in case
they are needed

guerrilla was an embryonic form of
natl. liberation army

national chauvinism and racism

The guerrilla fighters must form the core of the struggle because unless there is an armed force representing the people the masses will lack the ability to criticize the enemy when all legal means have failed or to counter the enemy's attempts to use brutal force against the people. People who can must be ready to join and strengthen the ranks of the guerrilla fighters or to help them when necessary. Meanwhile the guerrilla fighters ~~must~~ strive to represent the people's needs and interests and grow into their ~~own~~ army. The guerrilla forces are the proof that the people mean what they say when they declare "Freedom by any means necessary." Guerrilla warfare and mass struggle together will solidify consciousness and commitment that will be the basis of an army of national liberation. This army will have the total support of the masses and will seize power.

Crusade for Justice

central purpose - to release the vast energies of the people for their own liberation, to give the impetus to the formation of a People's Army.

Party will form out of those ^{elements} who have demonstrated a vanguard role by representing the interests of the masses & by struggling on the most advanced levels

mechanism to coordinate the military/
political units — ^{it is the collective}
leadership. The War Council can and
should exist in some form or other whether
or not a party or the federation directs
the struggle at any given time.

Summing up, the Federation is not
an alternative to a revolutionary communist
party but rather is suggested as a possible
stage that may be necessary in the course
of the revolution if the conditions of struggle
have not led to the formation of a party
or parties that ~~the~~ the people's respect
and can then fore assume leadership.

The Federation is a pre-party form of mechanism that will be necessary if there is not enough ideological unity to form a party or if a party forms representing only one segment of the population and there are ideological conflicts which prevent it from representing the whole population. For example, a Black Communist Party may form out of leadership elements of the Black liberation struggle. This party may not grow into a party that can lead the other elements of the population probably due to the racism of the white revolutionaries or the failure of whites to deal with the question of self determination. In this case the Federation would be the mechanism to unite the Black Communist Party with other elements fighting the struggle who have not been able to unite under the Black Communist Party. Or the Federation may be composed of several parties, groups and organizations. If no party or parties grow out of the struggle and demonstrate their fitness to lead because of their understanding and commitment to the people's interests; then the Federation can perform some of the leadership functions of a party but with the inherent weaknesses of course of ~~incomplete~~ ideological unity. This weakness actually means that the leadership role is actually one of coordination and cooperation — the directing force of the limited front. The party is obviously a more disciplined, efficient and stronger form of leadership. The War Council is the

re-analysis of Marx - Lenin working class

- bought off segments who feel privileges of status and race. Status in Consumer flea market
- these stand to side agt progressive forces and w/ ruling class

Short term economic gains

- race
- economic advantage over others
- identification w/ system and white hierarchy

Working class getting smaller (automation)

- effects of racism

- racial/national composition of the working class

- large segment of unemployed

- rank & file U.S. military

- prison workers - socialized environment of prison.

the brainwashing, reform process that has been launched agt labor for decades to undermine & destroy its revolutionary potential

PAIGC "Building the revolution as we fight"

Survival programs - survival pending revolution

We have a responsibility to teach people the link between the military and the political. We need to demonstrate how political goals can be achieved by military means. We need to be the finest examples of what military skills and knowledge if executed correctly can accomplish in terms of moving the struggle forward. When we expand our military consciousness we often increase our understanding, flexibility and imagination in considering ~~how~~ ways to achieve our political objectives. Thus we stimulate the people's minds to think and study and ~~to~~ understand.

Rip mask of fascism - demonstrate that there is fascism now and we are at war. The pigs are already operating at a very sophisticated tactical and strategic level - they use brutality and visible repression only when no other disguise will succeed but they are never afraid to use these methods. So we must not be afraid. We must prove that we desire freedom ^{above} ~~and~~ on the battle field.

~~Then~~ all else. When we draw violence and repression from the beast we pull off the mask and the people can see their enemy. L.A. was an example of this.

Certain segments have not been so deeply ingrained by contra-positive brainwashing and have never had much access to consumer flea market. Their revolutionary potential has not been so diluted and they have far more potential to be the vanguard.

Consciousness alone cannot bring about a revolution altho it forms a good basis. People today are conscious of their oppression and the ruling class interests of gov't. Leadership can give the proper direction of consciousness and can inject it with a collective force that will make the revolution.

Fascism re-organizes, ^{centralizes} and reforms capitalism in response to mobilization of class consciousness by working class and also in response to changing ^{economic} conditions and changing power within the ruling elite (power going from agrarian elite to industrial elite or from bourgeois democracy to monopoly capitalism)

Reform is the primary fascist tactic in this present state of undeclared war.

Corporate fascism has failed ^{to pacify} in two key areas

1. Third World poor & working people in U.S.

2. Third World victims or potential victims of U.S. Imperialism (Vietnam ^{Cuba})

Because of incomplete pacification govt had to use terror force (BPP, BLP, Vuk, etc.)

Revolution here in U.S. is different than everywhere else! This is the center of imperialist power and fascist centralized and coordinated repression. Historical forces within the working class are unique. Old methods will no longer do because the fascists have learned how to deal with these thru the flexibility of their reforms, false promises, propaganda and other disguises. We must institute new tactics that its true are illegal but are effective simply because they catch the paper tiger off-guard and unprepared — they make the beast lash out irrationally and expose his true nature. This does not mean we shouldn't learn from history and international examples of others — it does mean that we must take the lessons and ideas of others and understand them, not in a vacuum of past conditions, but in the incredible mish-mash of experiences and realities that make up corporate/military fascism in the U.S.

Fascism always weak or ineffective dissent — it murders & destroys effective revolutionary dissent segments of working class — sick to core

How to un-do
control-positive
moderation by
sophisticated forces
of fascism

authoritarian conformity
racist hatred
short term aspirations
status seekers
fearful & insecure
power/destructive ego
makes them prime
to fight for fascists

6. tighter links with labor elite
7. putting people with police backgrounds into other areas of control like welfare, education
8. create diversionary fears (outside enemy, ecology, terrorists, criminals)
9. opiates - religion, drugs (heroin by mafia & methadone by govt) sports, ratl causes (WIN program)
10. ^{coordinating} consolidating govt agencies like housing, welfare etc for more efficient control of population
11. Segregation of TW communities in ghetto areas or relocation thru redevelopment so population is where pips want it for their programs of control.
12. ID programs in school & work places
13. Automation that makes workers expendable

vulnerability of U.S. ruling elite

1. failure of reform fascism to pacify 2nd segments of population & their leaders
2. failing economy that cannot give ~~the~~ workers the means to survive and cannot even keep workers employed including white workers
3. international defeats by liberation movements (Vietnam, Cuba, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique)
4. 2nd countries getting their shit together to oppose imperialism's rap of (oil)
5. government corruption (Watergate)
6. repression esp. in TW communities that backfires because it "breeds resistance"
7. Necessary inflation to keep profits high that is making workers poorer and more militant and essentially backfires because workers cannot buy in consumer market
8. increasing strikes
9. too many fronts to protect here & international

These conditions combined make the potential for revolution very high because many segments are disillusioned and are aware. Need leadership to direct tactics and forge united front.

Response of U.S. Ruling elite to these conditions

1. Computer info on dissident elements
2. centralization of police, military and other forces of repression
3. more outright repression (L.A.)
4. more infiltration, intelligence work among potential revolutionary elements
5. increase racist fervor among Whites to keep working class divided (Zebra, Boston Bussing)

Jamison Hayward

tool steel
annealed condition
heat treatable

Wipacart

730 Florida

285-5859



RS

CALIFORNIA STEEL FORMING

N/C

C.O.D.

Metal

Fabricating

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No. 24

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7/9/75	7/9/75		PICK UP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

TOLD TO

SHIP TO

FRANK WALTERS #100

334-3101

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12	PCS. 16 GA. C.R. 1" X 60" FLAT 6 1/2% SALES TAX		\$14.00 \$14.91
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STATEMENT RENDERED UPON REQUEST. THANK YOU

"Seller represents that with respect to the production of the articles and/or the performance of the services covered by this invoice, it has fully complied with Section 12 (a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended."

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Prices Subject to Change Without Notice.

ORIGINAL INVOICE

7-15200 PF Q2130

armed struggle - military solution to political--
problems which can be resolved in
no other way.

Role of white revolutionaries

1. combat racism
2. combat natl. Chauvinism
3. Working with white segments of working class
4. Working with TW groups, nationalist groups
5. Working in multi national grps. Potential for this
6. TW leadership

Armed struggle here will encounter specific conditions which may take us a period of false starts and readjustments to take them into account. This is why flexibility is important as we constantly define the means by which our struggle may be successful both in mobilizing masses of people and in destroying the monster.

Debray "In order to destroy one army another army is necessary and this implies training, discipline & arms."

"The most important form of propaganda is ^{successful} military action"

strategy springs from political & social conditions, from the population, from resources & terrain from an analysis of opposing forces

party must be military/political not political alone

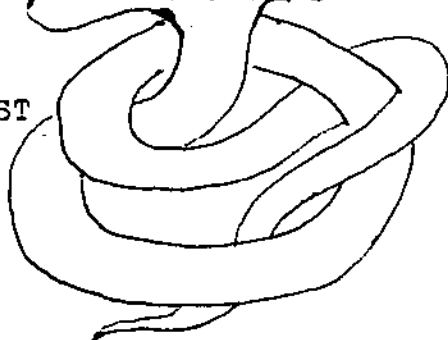
My life really changed a year ago today. On Feb. 4 I proved to myself and we all proved to each other that we were guerrillas and that the revolution will be made by determined people who do determined things and don't let anything stand in their way. It was really a turning point in history because it kicked the whole intellectual movement out of their armchairs and it showed all those beautiful people on the streets that the SLA is another material reason for them to continue to hope for change.

Right from the beginning you amazed us because you were strong-- even as a kidnap victim you were matter of fact about the weird situation. We dug it, but we were also wary -- we thought maybe you were plotting against us and all your talk, sense of humor and cooperativeness was just a ploy while you tunneled out thru the floor. Having you there put a responsibility on all of us to get out shit totally together and to do it fast because we knew that we couldn't make any mistakes. We were really a guerrilla army unit then ~~was~~ ^{gathering} all the strength, audaciousness and common sense that it takes to be successful.

You made everyone feel so good because of your responsiveness and enthusiasm. The food program, Randy and Catherine, the pigs and all their harrassment clues, all the tension of being 8 fugitives holed up in a tract house was all such frustrating shit, especially knowing we weren't going to get Ossie and Bo out. I mean the only highs we got were from looking forward to the next action, from seeing the few responses of righteous people like Townsend on TV and from seeing you change to become a comrade. We all have high (the highest) expectations of each other, and we get disappointed when our expectations fall short, but I won't ever forget the inspiration that you were to all eight of us and to all the strangers who celebrated with us.

The three of us make more demands on each other than anyone ever has even in the cell before. There is no one for us to rely on or sap off of. It's clear that conditions aren't going to fall into our laps and nothing's going to be easy. We aren't even close to sharing revolutionary relationships with each other because we don't even know what those kinds of relationships should be like -- we only have hints and hopes. But what's talked about and fought about between these four walls don't amount to shit compared to revolutionary action. All nine of us were totally different people after that kidnapping and the bank robbery; the three of us are totally different people after LA. We're alot stronger and tougher, but we won't get any sense of that until we give the pigs another defeat that each year they wish they could forget. The only way to build a revolutionary society and to become revolutionary people is to make the revolution, and the only way to make the revolution is to FIGHT. Let's do it and when it happens that will be real cause for celebration.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST
INSECT THAT PREYS
ON THE LIFE OF
THE PEOPLE.



JUST AS THE CATERPILLER
BECOME A BUTTERFLY
SO THE MAN(WOMAN) CHILD
BECOMES AN ARMED
COMBATANT.

Who's who in Industry

Public Affairs Info. Service Bulletin - selective indexing of
periodicals, govt. bulletins, govt. printings, journals,
etc.

Joann Kurpinsky
work - Pacific Telephone
444 Bush
542-1977
(Customer Services)
since 11/66

David Kurpinsky PhD Candidate
Cal.
Dept. of Educ.
Ford Foundation Grant
642-1011

Geraldine MacDonald Macys (downtown)
wife's beauty shop
sister-in-law 4 years
397-3333
her husband in army in Germany

previous landlord - George Thomas
don't know his phone
previous address - 1246 Dwight
bank - Wells Fargo Univ Branch
Berkeley

Q2126

Q 2130

Sierra Club

* (National) 220 Bush - 981-8634

(Bay Area) 5608 College Ave, Oak. 658-7470

Gordon Robinson (S.F. Conservation man)

Santa Rosa

Calif. Division of Forestry ^{1985 Ridgeview}
2560 W. College (707) 546-1544 ^{8/1/81}

29 They keep files on all logging operations in the Coast Range; before they log they must file a Logging Plan w/ the exact locations

Water Quality Control Board

1000 Coaling Town Center (707) 545-2620

They are sympathetic; keep track of all the logging operations & go in to see what's going on.

440 Bush St. → Phone Co. Library

Wesley R. Kida
2nd of 3rd floor
Long Pacific
Kida Co

(1) Nagasaki
(2) Armory
(d) Steele
(2) Cleveland

living now at sister's who is in
Europe - phone disconnected

Northpoint - 2211 Stockton

Standard Oil Credit card
Mobil

husband's mother is nearest relative

Jolene Kurpinsky

1002 D

Sacto

441-6965

1. 584 -1583

127 Atkins

~~250~~

230 + 230 + 100.

3BR

2) 146 Peralta

5 x mrs. fireplace
car port + house

8-33 1/2 wk.

H. Bertram Plumb. & Heating
330 - 5th (weekdays only)
Capitol Plumbing & Heating
393 - 30th
(3" galvanized 4.90 foot)

wrecking & salvage yds. sell
by the pound!

A & K Salvage Co.
967 Harrison (some pieces)

Bartfeld Sales Co.
320 - 11th (2.50 foot)

Circosta Iron & Metal Co.

1801 Evans Ave.

(10 ft. weighs c. 76 lbs. = \$19.-)

7-15200 PE Q2130

General Cell Info

72
72
9-19-75

Gov. Pae.

Jan. 3 1974 Arcata Red Co. Plans. 1-74-23H

Ap. 10 74

Ap. 23.75 PN 1-75-2331

1-75 240 +1

Redwood & Wier C. Creek

1-74-23H area subsec. sec. township range Hunt
1-75-233H SE 1/4 31 10 N 2 E 25 acres
2 W 1/4 32 " 30 acres
206.56 ac. 95402

Box 970, O. G. X 0.0
Calif. Division of Forestry
Resources Manager
Mr. Vern Osburn

PN. 1-75-240 H

same sec. 31

type of logging (yarding) High Lead Yarden Skagit 199

Barrel Hills Road

(near BT School & Elk Camp)

Forest Practice Act. 1973

145 Acres - Ad. Humboldt St. Park
Plan # 229 H

(near) Douglas Men Br

Ap. 1, 270 acres

Emerald C. (W.C.) water shed

North of Westport to north
of Tain, 217 W Between Lincoln Ridge & Wages Creek
Plan no. 1-75-2331M Sec. 15, 16, 21, 22
Mendocino County
De Haven Creek

Loann Kurpinsky
work - Pacific Telephone
444 Bush
542-1977
(Customer Services)
since 11/66

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Geraldine MacDonald Macys (downtown)
wife's Beauty Shop
sister-in-law 4 years
397-3333
her husband in army in Germany

persons identified - George Thomas
don't know his phone
persons address - 1246 Dwight
Court - Union Square Lenin Branch
Berkeley

Explosives can be divided into two main categories:

- 1) High explosives- fast reaction rate with lots of power
- 2) Low explosives- slower reaction rate with less power

Each type has its particular uses. For example, high explosives are more effective for things like mining but if they were put in handgun ammunition the gun would explode when the trigger was pulled. Thus, low explosives are used in ammunition.

High explosives can be divided into two categories

- 1) Primary- these will detonate by simple ignition;
e.g. spark, flame, impact
- 2) Secondary- these require a detonator or booster
i.e. a smaller explosion which in turn sets the off. Usually this smaller explosion is initiated by a "blasting cap".

Examples:

Primary High	Secondary High	Low
Mercury fulminate	Nitroglycerin	Black Powder
Lead azide	Ammonium Nitrate	Smokeless powder
Lead stychnate	Picric Acid	
	TNT	

Construction of Bombs

I. Simple Black Powder Fire Bomb

A small section of pipe is filled with black powder and sealed at both ends. A hole is drilled in one end so that a fuse can be inserted. The fuse is lit and when it burns down to the powder the black powder explodes.

II. Bomb With Blasting Cap

A blasting cap looks like a section of copper tubing. It has three different explosives in it.



Fig. 1 - BLASTING CAP

The flash charge is a low explosive which will create enough of a flame when it comes in contact with heat or spark to set off the primary charge.

The primary charge is a primary high explosive (usually mercury fulminate) which will set off the base charge.

The base charge is a secondary high explosive.

The blasting car must always be inserted into the
of the secondary high explosive. For example, in a stick of
dynamite a hole must be made to insert the car.

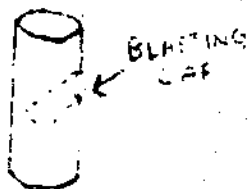
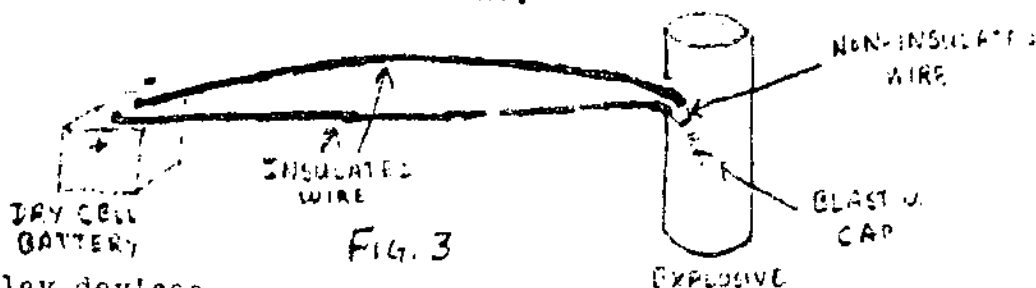


Fig. 2

III. Setting off blasting cars

- 1) non-electric- a fuse is simply inserted into the car and lit;
- 2) electric- a piece of insulated wire is inserted into the car, but the insulation on the portion that passes through the flash charge is removed. The ends of the wire are connected to an electrical power source (e.g. dry cell battery). When the circuit is completed the portion of the wire where the insulation is removed will become hot enough to set off the flash charge.



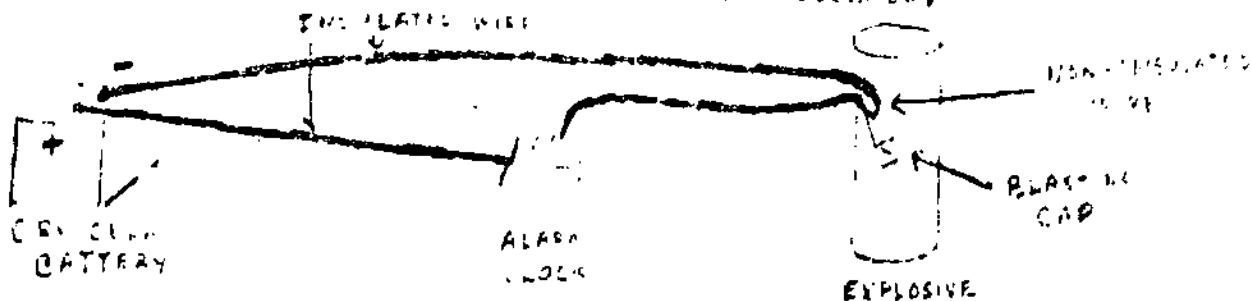
IV. Delay devices

If the above arrangement were connected with an alarm clock so that the circuit would not be completed until the alarm went off the timing of the explosion can be totally controlled. The simplest example is the use of an alarm clock with a hammer and bell mechanism. When the alarm goes off, the hammer will strike the bell.

HAMMER
BELL

FIG. 4

If the wire in Fig. 3 were connected to the bell and hammer of the clock, then when the alarm went off the circuit would be completed and the explosive would detonate.



Miscellaneous Facts

1. Dynamite is composed of varying percentages of nitroglycerin (30-50%), potassium nitrate (30-50%), wood pulp (10%), and calcium carbonate or magnesium carbonate. The first two are explosives, the wood pulp is for absorption, and the last element is a stabilizer. Different substances can also be used e.g. ammonium nitrate instead of nitroglycerin, depending on whose formula for dynamite is used. (There are hundreds)
2. There are different kinds of fuses. One, called primacord, burns at 6500 ft./sec. Most others are called safety fuse and burn at 20-45 sec./ft.
3. A powerful explosive can be made by combining ammonium nitrate and fuel oil. Ammonium nitrate is available at nurseries in the form of fertilizer.
4. Some other common types of explosives (most are more sophisticated forms of dynamite) are: blasting gelatin, gelignite, gelatin dynamite, trinitrotoluene (TNT), and plastic explosives.

LEADERSHIP

1. Why is leadership necessary?
2. What is military/political leadership?
collective vs. authoritarian (example of triangle)
qualities of leadership
3. How does leadership function?
what leader does
how leader is picked
how other members work with leader
how leadership changes
question of respect for leader and each other
person can only lead if others support
responsibility of everyone to make the leader
stronger and vice versa. People becoming
stronger makes leader and cell stronger.
no super heroes, no myths.
if we have no leader then we must look for one
leader cant know everything and mistakes will
be made if one person does all the thinking
no passive acquiescence to leader -- collective
participation in struggling to achieve the
best decision but no pushing of one posi-
tion in an individualist way.
4. Rebelliousness to leadership
results from bourgeois conditioning against
leadership
know it all attitudes, arrogance
rebelliousness to a person that may know a lot
more; ego
competitiveness
ultra-democracy
individualism, often resulting in un-openness
to learn and reluctance to follow suggestions
of leader or others.
5. Role of all of us ^{as potential} vanguard (leadership).
set example that will make others feel that
they trust us to lead them in the fight.
develop the trust with other strong, dedicated
comrades thru our practice that will make
them want to work with us
act as advisors to other leaders of other cells.

Standard and Poor's (S & P) - 500
officers, directors,
subsidiaries
financial statements
(1964-1965)
notes with other info.
Index (1964-1965)
Form.

Moody's Annual (not news reports) Industrial
Govt.
Banking and Finance
Public Utilities

gives subsidiaries, officers and directors, info on
profile, earnings, stocks, etc.

Southwest Index - periodicals index
It is article and particular general
subject like the "Southwest Index"
and also in each issue it lists articles
written about specific comp.
oriented toward comp. and business with
indexing mostly of business periodicals
journals etc.

Latin American Index - just like the SW Index but oriented
toward business

615
Standard and Poor's (S & P) - 500
officers, directors,
subsidiaries
financial statements
(1964-1965)
notes with other info.
Index (1964-1965)
Form.

Standard and Poor's (S & P) - 500
officers, directors,
subsidiaries
financial statements
(1964-1965)
notes with other info.
Index (1964-1965)
Form.

Standard and Poor's (S & P) - 500
officers, directors,
subsidiaries
financial statements
(1964-1965)
notes with other info.
Index (1964-1965)
Form.

Public Affairs Office - Service Bulletin - and a free list of
bulletins, card. bulletins, card. bulletins, card. bulletins,
etc.

...and the fact that the number was placed on the door was the only
...on the door was the only... of that kind the valid
...to do it, but we were also very... we thought maybe
...at the door... but on the other hand, some of the...
...effectiveness was that a few... you translated out there the
...floor... and there was a responsibility to all of us to put
...it all together and to do it fast because we had to...
...couldn't... the situation... we were really a... time
...the... in the... and... of a...
...it took to be successful.

You made everyone feel so good because of your responsiveness and enthusiasm. The good spacing, Randy and Catherine, the ol' and all their harmonic support guys, all the tension of being so excited, even being up in a tight house in a full moon presentation slot, and finally knowing we weren't going to get Caine and Po out. I mean the only highs we got were from looking forward to the next action, from seeing the far reacher of righteous people like Townsend on TV and from seeing you change to become a goddess. We all have high (the highest) expectations of each other, and we get disappointed when our expectations fall short, but I won't ever forget the imagination that you all put in it of us and to all the guys who celebrated with us.

The thing of no value more common in our life than anyone
around has even in the cell before. There is no one for us to rely
on as we go on. It's clear that conditions aren't going to
be our help and nothing's going to be easy. We aren't even close
to stopping revolutionary relationships with each other because
we don't even know what those kinds of relationships should be.
We don't know how to think and learn. But we do know about
and fight about between these things. We don't want to shut
ourselves out to revolutionary action. All time of our lives, all
difficult and the other that is coming, and the time, really, the
things of our lives are different, more after the, we're not
stronger and stronger, but we won't get any more of that until we
give the other another chance that each one of us can't they could
forget. We only want to build a revolutionary society and the
revolutionary revolution is to be made for the revolution, and the
revolution is to be made for the revolution. We don't want to
be the same as the revolution is to be made for the revolution.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible]

USEFUL RESEARCH MATERIALS

Standard and Poor's Register (3 volumes) Corporations (lists corp. info. alpha.
officers, directors,
subsidiaries)
Directors and Executives
(alpha. listing of
names with biog. info)
Index (Geographical listing
of corp.

Moody's Manual (not news reports) Industrial
Govt.
Banking and Finance
Public Utilities

gives subsidiaries, officers and directors, info on
profits, earnings, stocks. etc.

Funk and Scott Index - periodicals index
lists articles on particular general
subjects like for example "computers"
and also in another index it lists articles
written about specific corp.
oriented toward corp. and business with
indexing mostly of business periodicals
journals etc.

Business Periodicals Index - just like Reader's Guide but oriented
toward business

city
US Government Manual (behind desk) - lists by govt. branch
the various offices, agencies, dept. plus the
rags in charge all the way down the hierarchy
this is for federal govt. in Washington

SF Government (city library - behind desk) info. on city depts.
and offices as set up in city charter, no names

Directory of City and County Offices of SF, April, 1975 (city
library behind desk)
names all the rags of all commissions, depts heads
etc.

will be until we kick them out of the community." So that it was really nothing new for the community, but ^{the increased # of pigs,} ^{increased} ^{the risks} ^{we had to take} ^{to survive} ~~it~~ ^{at} in the ~~way of the intention~~ to continue the fight.

Yoko -- we were pretty concerned that because of the number of pigs in the area -- the FBI had supposedly committed as many as 1000 agents, many of whom were operating in the area ~~and~~ ^{the number of military personnel stationed there} ~~that was in the area~~ that they were waiting for us to do another operation and once ~~they~~ ^{we} did do something they would seal the area off so that our mobility would be completely eliminated. ~~to~~ ^{might be able to use their unlimited resources to discover} ~~general~~ ^{of the city} ~~of the city~~ ~~area~~ that we might be in. ~~to find out that we would be taking too much of a chance by continuing to operate~~ ~~that our mobility was potentially limited which in some way~~ ~~which should be allowed on the level of~~ ~~unreliable~~ ~~errors~~ -- it's ^{mobility} ^{guerrilla warfare} ~~an aspect of the fight~~ that has to be totally to our advantage if we are to survive.

You mentioned the Zebra killers, who I think were a handful of Biko's who according to the accounts read, murdered whites indiscriminately. Unfortunately because of the timing of these killings in relation to your own operations you became identified in a lot of people's minds more or less along side the Zebra killers -- sort of as a other one of those groups. In fact what do you feel about the political effects of the Zebra killings and the Zebra killers themselves?

work
on
question

2. Well anyway you eventually moved to Los Angeles and a majority of you at least found yourself in hideouts or safehouses in the Black community. Why was it that a predominantly White group found itself hiding out in a community where comparatively few Whites were normally seen

A. Tania -- ~~We had gone to LA and were staying in a temporary safehouse. We decided to stay at this place in the Black community because...~~

Yolanda -- ~~certainly that we were in the process of doing in LA before we started to run into trouble there was to attempt to build up a network there that would support us as guerrilla fighters and would allow us to be in touch with the Black Brown and White Communities.~~
Toko -- ~~We were basically attempting to enlarge a network that already had some beginnings altho they were small.~~

Tania -- We were preparing to split up into three teams. That was one reason why we were in a temporary pad. Considering that we would only be in the community living that way for a short time, ^{we felt it} ~~it~~ was better to be there instead of where at worst the people in the community would think we were pigs or hawks than to be in a community where the people might call the pigs because they were wondering who we were.

Toko -- It was a fact that people in the immediate ^{around 84th St} community ~~where we were (not where the shoot-out was on 54th St., this is on 84th St. about 3 miles south)~~ had suspicions that we were undercover pigs we learned from our contacts in the community. The situation was that we were not about to go and tell them that we were not pigs, that we were the

SLA because we realize that there was a lot of money out for us and there ~~was~~ ^{were} opportunist elements in ~~the~~ ^{there} community that we couldn't trust -- there is a lot of dope in the community. We didn't want it to be common knowledge that elements of the SLA were in the community. We felt that it was better that the people felt we were undercover ^{ops} which would mean that they wouldn't necessarily go to the pigs to say, "Listen you better go get these undercover agents out of our neighborhood." Blacks don't generally have a whole lot of interest in working with police in the same capacity that whites might. We felt that for a relatively short time we ~~would~~ ^{would} be secure. As Tania pointed out, it was a temporary thing. We weren't going to be there for more than a couple of days.

Volodia -- It had become clear to us that it was not safe for us to continue to move around as nine people or to live together as nine people so that was one of the purposes of splitting into three teams of three people each. The splitting into teams was a military/political decision that weighed the military strengths and weaknesses of each of the comrades and then combined people to form the best possible teams so that these teams could exist fairly autonomously and then come together around particular actions or to learn particular skills as a unit. We weren't creating three new cells; we were creating three teams that would live in different locations. ~~and~~ The ideal place for us, since two of the teams were composed of all white people and one of the teams was composed of one Black and two

lives, would be multi-racial communities where we would not stick out as ^{we did as} white people in the Black community, but where we could have contact with people of many different races, *ethnic and cultural backgrounds*

Q. We should criticize ourselves for waiting too long to take ~~action~~ ^{action} that was warranted conditions in terms of making

the actual move to split up into the teams; we were too cautious. We weren't convinced individually that we were ready. We had felt so much security in being nine. ~~that~~

Q. ^{know} ~~we~~ militarily speaking that our firepower was greater and we let that cloud our reasoning in terms of our real

abilities at the time. The three of us have proved that we, as three people, are capable of existing ^{and continuing to struggle} It's something we should have done and could have done. ~~We should have done it quicker than we did.~~ If we had, there's a good chance that what happened in LA never would have happened.

Q. Maria -- (at least the cops wouldn't have found so many of our comrades in one place at one time.

Q. At about this ^{time} or shortly thereafter, the police became aware of your presence in LA because of an incident at a sporting goods store that the three of you were involved in. Could you tell us the details of that action?

Q. We -- a lot of people know but the media has said. The police was that I was spotted shoplifting and that was the reason that we got jammed and therefore had to shoot

our way out of the situation. What happened in reality was that we had gone out that day to buy ~~some things that the cell needed and we felt at the time that the things that we needed which was combat clothing~~ ^{that the cell needed immediately and} that had to be specific kinds of things, ~~we needed immediately.~~ I didn't feel that we had time to train some of our contacts to go out and get the stuff for us, and we wanted the stuff right away. We might have been too impatient. We went out to ~~the~~ do the shopping and at one store ~~after~~ we had bought over \$30 worth of items like heavy duty socks, wool hats, sweat shirts, etc. ^{As} we walked out ~~and~~ one of the clerks came out and told me I had to come back in. He told me he wanted to check me because he suspected that I had shoplifted. ~~A problem resulted at the time because of a kind of hesitation on the part of Tolson and myself.~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I couldn't go back into that store because if I went back in for a search, they would have seen that I was illegally carrying a concealed firearm and it was likely that then they would find out who I was. We knew we had to take control and possibly fight our way out of the situation by force, but ~~as I said~~ we were kind of dumbfounded for a second -- we were amazed that we were being jammed around shoplifting when there was no reason for it. Instead of reacting very quickly ~~and dealing with that~~ ^{with the confidence that} ~~situation by force~~ -- there ^{were} two of us and one of him and we were both armed and he wasn't -- ~~we got into a~~ ^{we hesitated and allowed ourselves} physical ~~struggle~~ ^{scuffle before we even got our faces out} ~~because~~ ^{to get into a} ~~meanwhile~~ ^{meanwhile} someone else got help from several people in the store and ~~on my way out of~~

~~XXXX~~ and one other officer even stopped his car and rushed over to get in a few licks. By this time, there were three "heroes" disarming and trying to handcuff me and another ~~grant~~ ~~big~~ gorilla had Yolanda in a bear hug. So you can see that the hesitation really fucked us up. Fortunately Tania, by then realized that what was happening and opened up with a machine-gun, ~~and this helped them realize that~~ *There* ~~they would be safer if~~ *they* ~~reloaded us and got back into the store.~~ This gave us the time we needed to get back to the van and move out ~~before they were able to accurately return the fire.~~ One ~~of them~~ *Zucker* fired on us with the hand gun they'd taken from me; ~~and~~ luckily he was a bad shot because it was armed with cyanide bullets.

Tania -- I had been watching, on and off, from across the street in the van, looking to see where they were because it was taking a long time to do the shopping. ~~And at the particular time that they came out of the store I was looking~~ *I glanced down at a newspaper.* ~~and then I looked up there were all these people and I couldn't tell what was happening~~ ~~because~~ *my view was obstructed* ~~by~~ *the* street divider ~~and some shrubbery;~~ ~~and then I saw Toko's head pop up from underneath~~ *a pile of goods* ~~and that's when I opened up with the machine-gun. All our reactions were too slow.~~

Yolanda -- Yeah, we all had a basic problem around the hesitation ~~XXXXXX~~. One also came to realize that it is foolish to send "hot" combat elements to do work that support elements can easily take care of. Our mistake was getting impatient for much needed supplies. Support elements can usually function above ground effectively without carrying arms and therefore couldn't have had to deal with that situation in the same way that we did.

By moving about heavily armed we were able to insure our safety, *in the event of a jam but also we were taking the chance of creating a jam like the freak thing at the sporting goods store.* ~~"purit'vies"~~ shouldn't be taking those chances.

Toko -- Aside from the initial hesitation, once we got our shit together, *and got moving* everything went very smoothly. ~~we got moving everything was cool. I even pressed a motor-cycle at as we were about to pull out of the parking lot and he didn't know what the hell was going on.~~ We went about four blocks, turned into a residential area and pulled a switch, took another car... ditched ours and grabbed another one from a couple of cooperative people. We then went another couple of blocks, this car broke down but we just borrowed another one from some other very nice people. Then we split the area.

Colanda -- ~~the reason we were able to do this so easily~~ *was that* We had previously discussed at length what we would do in situations like this, switching cars and so forth, it wasn't just something that we did off the top of our heads. It all came out of military preparations.

Tania -- Hesitation is a very serious problem and white middle and upper class people have to really guard against it. Sometimes you get the feeling that you can talk your way out of a tight situation. In a police state, revolutionaries must realize that to try to talk your way out of an arrest is suicidal.

Q. Well, it was at this time and as a result of this incident that things got very much better for you in Los Angeles at least they knew that you were in the area and they stopped

looking for you or a much more attractive basis. Now did you react to that?

1. Tokens main, we had all the likelihood about the potential prob-
lem of being separated due to the being jammed. Our first
priority was to deal with the ^{security of} ~~transportation~~ ^{security}, we
had to make sure we'd lost any tails, any pig activity in
search of us in particular, and then attempt to, ~~in a~~ ^{in a pre-arranged} ~~secure manner~~ ^{manner} to hook up with our comrades again. This is
what we were attempting to do. ~~It~~ ^A it turned out we made a
serious error in the course of switching our cars at one
point that potentially ^{aided} ~~led to~~ the pigs finding our comrades.
~~that was that we left a lot of stuff in the van when we~~ ^{we} ~~forgot to take the car with us that we left~~ ^{we} ~~the van which would used to hide our machine gun and other~~ ^{we} ~~stuff out. In this carrying case there was a printing ticket~~ ^{we} ~~that we were supposed to have, one of our duties that day~~ ^{we} ~~was to be pulling off, and because of this printing ticket~~ ^{we} ~~they found out about the house that was being staying in~~ ^{we} ~~all nine of us being in one to split us into teams. Our~~ ^{we} ~~comrades had split that house as soon as they had heard on~~ ^{we} ~~the radio that we had been jammed at the sporting goods~~ ^{we} ~~store, which was a natural security precaution that they~~ ^{we} ~~would normally take, but there's a possibility that~~ ^{we} ~~the pigs~~ ^{we} ~~found out about that and then leaped some things~~ ^{we} ~~about the vehicle that the comrades~~ ^{we} ~~could have located them later. You're not really sure~~ ^{we} ~~about this, but it's a serious error that could have led to~~ ^{we} ~~the shoot-out. It's one of a number of things that happened~~ ^{we} ~~that day that certainly, looking back on it, could have been~~ ^{we}

switched to another car. Mostly it was items we had bought that day. It was just too much :)
every considering the way we were having to move.
Due to our oversight we left one bag in the van that contained a parking ticket that ~~had been~~ received ~~on~~ was for a violation outside our 84th St temporary safehouse.

if we had paid attention to detail.

dealt with in a different fashion, ~~and intentionally to rob~~
~~you wouldn't have been able to do so...but, to the point that they~~
~~it goes down.~~ So it's clear, we maintained our security,
 unfortunately our comrades weren't able to do so with theirs.
 We don't really know ^{exactly} what happened. The one thing can be
 said for the events that brought about the capture of our
 other comrades, Carolina and Bo. But I mean id, we're having
 to rely on the media to find out the particulars of those
 events. And looking at these ~~events~~ ^{events} critically, ~~we can see~~
~~potentially, or at least the possibility of criticism of things~~
~~to learn about these situations.~~ *we can learn ways to prevent the same mistakes from happening in the future.*

Vol 100-- ~~The media has~~ ^{The media has} so consistently lied about
 things that we've done, it's very hard to rely on them for
 information. ~~There's some military errors though that~~
~~become apparent~~ ^{become apparent} by reading between the lines of news
 papers and listening to TV, and even if those errors didn't
 actually occur we'll take the lesson that we learned ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~try~~
~~to ensure~~ ^{to ensure} that we don't commit them. One of the potential
 problems was that the six ~~comrades~~ ^{comrades} only went about three miles
 away from ~~our~~ ^{our} to temporary safe houses ~~on 24th St.~~
~~before, however, for Lincoln is so big they could have gone~~
~~miles and miles away to more outlying areas to safe houses~~
~~that we had already secured through our network. But, not~~
~~the way to the closer towns.~~

Tonia-- ~~They seem to have had other things... for zero~~
~~on the decided to go...~~

To o-- ~~Although we do know~~ ^{Although we do know} ~~the vehicles they~~ ^{they were}
~~using~~ ^{using} ~~had a lot of potential~~
 heat on them, and they may have felt that they couldn't

be driving too far ~~in those vehicles~~. ~~It is~~ ~~the~~
also ~~though~~ it appears that they might have made the error of
parking them too close to the place where they were ~~at~~ *staying*. If
they were going to ditch them they probably should have ditch-
ed them somewhere else. ~~According to some reports,~~ ~~the~~
~~still don't know if this is exactly~~ ~~it~~, that they
were traced to the area because ~~a~~ *a pig* ~~one~~ *of* those
vehicles, ~~which had~~ ~~driven too close to~~ ~~about~~ ~~or~~ ~~vicinity~~
~~and then there was the question of people getting into~~ ~~out of~~
~~the house, too.~~

Yolande-- ~~It~~ ^{It} came out in the paper that through
out the day ~~of May 17~~ ^{of May 17} there'd been ~~community people~~ ^{neighbors}
in and out of the house to speak with Cinque and the other
members of the LA staying there, and ~~as~~ ^{our comrades had} apparently some amount
of trust ~~had been built up~~ that the no people were not going
to go to the pigs. ~~and~~ The people apparently ~~do~~ talking to
soldiers of the LA. But then later it seems that an older
woman, a mother of one of the women who lived in the house,
came and the LA soldiers reacted to her in a similar way...
they felt that she should have the freedom to come and go
without realizing that ^{maybe} because of her ~~apoor~~ because of her
mistrust of white people in her daughters house, especially
white people who are armed, that she might be afraid, ~~and this~~
~~is one of the things that seem to directly related to the~~
~~the killing the exact house where our comrades were...~~
~~fact that she called the pigs and said that the e were white~~
~~people with guns at her daughters house.~~
^{It's been reported that}
~~the killing the exact house where our comrades were...~~
~~fact that she called the pigs and said that the e were white~~
~~people with guns at her daughters house.~~

Q. I guess after the debacle with your six car accident
yourselves returned to find a Schvasser in some way and order-

took whatever training or activity you've been involved in ^{over the} the past three months. Could you tell me something about that and something about how you see the future?

A. To be-- Well, as we said earlier, we had some amount of work making contact with progressive elements in the Los Angeles area and we weren't totally isolated as is clear by the fact that we're still here. We're still free, and we are still fighting. ~~The this is important in~~ Even before the shoot out we considered ourselves to be in a mobilization period, and we still ^{are} in this stage of development ~~period.~~ ~~and that's what we're doing, mobilizing...~~ ~~and during that period of mobilization~~ ~~in the city but~~ ~~notions.~~ For obvious reasons we can't speak about what we're going to do next, or what we're going to do in the near future, or specifically what kinds of tactics we are going to employ in the course of our participation in guerrilla warfare here in the United States.

Volante-- Mainly we're not looking back too much... one of the things that Jim said to us before we went out to the store that day was, "Remember, anything that happens is always for the best," ~~and~~ ^{he} had no way of being able to predict what would eventually happen ~~and~~ that he would die and that we would live and carry on the ^{work} ~~work~~ of the ^{revolution} ~~the~~, but we're determined to do that. ~~and to do that.~~ Our main emphasis has to be on looking forward to what we can do next-- what we can do after that, and training, preparing ourselves so we can do it well with a high degree of success. *We have learned and grown stronger by studying our past errors. We regret the consequences and the temporary*

defects they have caused us but we also →

all times.

Q. At the point I was successfully able to get, you had a prisoner in your hands in the course of his need for activity. The prisoner was able to interact with various members of the cell. Did this result in a lot of discussions between the members of the cell about internal interaction with your prisoners?

A. Not at first because we were only speaking with him whose responsibility it was to interrogate her. We told her the details of her life for an understanding of what our intentions were in terms of the conditions of her captivity. We also helped her understand the ideological frame of reference of the SLA and the conditions behind her arrest and detention. The intention was to provide comfort for ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ so that she would not be a security problem. It was important not to have too much of a close relationship to her initially because we fully intended to release her if our demands were met and we did not want her taking out info. which picked up in bits and pieces through unnecessary personal interaction that could then be useful to the pigs. She was not at this time talked to on a social level. There was only practical interaction. However, we did try to keep on top of how she was feeling.

After this initial period, during which ^{the entire cell} ~~XXXX~~ adjusted to the security measures necessary to keep a prisoner, we all began to interact with her on a more relaxed level. As time went on we attempted to make her cell door open up such as possible and were able to spend time with her. We all worked on the same mission together. That would be the first part of the cell mission. The cell would work collectively on our own state of mind;

Know that the inexperience of revolutionaries agst the sophistication of the pigs will result in death and imprisonment of righteous comrades as we learn & get our shit together in these early stages of development. The stage is painful but necessary. Experience, strength and success are gained thru practice. We have taken many steps forward toward people's victory and a few steps backward.

At this time we had not begun to consider the possibility of
the prisoner joining the cell and we/XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX that
arriving a PCF could XXXXXX create serious security problems. But
our decision to train Tania to defend herself was very much in line
with our policies regarding arms and self-defense. We gave her a
1. pump action gun cut down to 24 inches. She learned everything
about the weapon short of actually firing it, while still blindfolded.
She practiced reloading live rounds into the magazine, but
the bolt would not move. We trained her combat positions, kneeling
and lying down. We practiced digging, and digging for a hand grenade
under a log. She was very good at it. It was very much. In the event

5. There has been no violation; edited in the night

YACHTING BY THE WAY MAY BE THE MOST OF THE YACHTING AND THE WAY TO THE
THE YACHTING AND THE WAY TO THE

She certainly didn't expect Tom to be the kind of person she was. She was very flexible, she didn't complain. He'd dyed his hair into orange, a tropical bouffant, a scarlet collar, a bright blue, deep blue. He was certainly handsome when he was not fit that night. As it turned out, we went through as many of the same things. Because we had stereotyped her, we were a little shocked to learn that she really did feel really and that she really was a much in love with that other. On that basis we started to get a little closer to her and we began to be a little bit more open about our relationship with her. The first thing she

Zoya -- Her rev. consciousness grew out of her involvement in the women's struggle; Agitated for better job opportunities for women at their job at the library; hid Cin out after he got off prison which many people wouldn't do; She struggled with Cin around his sexism and Cin struggled with Zoya around her racism, and she realized that there were many things that she could learn from him about what tactics to use to bring this fucker down

Gabi -- She was a lesbian; She and Zoya were lovers in the past and Zoya really helped move her forward; like Zoya she realized that she couldn't struggle to free only women and broadened her support of struggles to include all oppressed groups etc. in this country; She was more together than any one else around sexism; realized that she could learn alot from the men in the cell and was determined to do so

Galina -- really maligned by the media; really developed quickly after she got out of a shitty marriage that fucked both her and her son; When she wanted to understand a question better she put ~~all~~ ~~her~~ ~~energy~~ ~~into~~ ~~it~~ all of her energy into it; strong convictions and not afraid to ask questions; she kept morale up around the comrades; She changed her body from a weak, people's body into a body that a guerrilla soldier can use to defend themselves with; really used her own initiative to learn things and she learned from her mistakes instead of asking someone for answers.

Pat Jones -- was a woman's thermometer; participation in BW; developed an intellectual understanding of rev. into practical understanding of it; he was disciplined out of his background of hipster; he was a disciplinarian; he was a disciplinarian; he was a disciplinarian

once between this ~~person~~ people together. We can say right here that RH and CH are ~~don't~~ pigs. We ~~cannot~~ classify ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ members of the working class ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ as ~~XXXXXX~~ pigs unless ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ they ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ try ~~XX~~ to snitch on us or ~~XXXXXX~~ to stop us from carrying out an operation. We have a position that we are in a state of war and as we said before, we can't be conducting theoretical trials on people's backgrounds in the middle of a battle.

Q. What will happen to pigs after the revolution?

A. Teko -- I guess its' unlikely that after the revolutionary war that every enemy is eliminated. It is difficult for us

Death warrants

as a warning to people we knew who were still
in contact with these 3

any army guerrilla or mercenary must deal with
traitors or those who risk the life and
security of the soldiers or the people

maybe explained it better

Criticisms

~~unnecessary to name people~~

~~pegs used agst us before we had explained
it carefully enough to the people~~

and inadequate relief in the lives of people who are suffering from oppression on all levels.

At this stage in the revolutionary struggle, I think it is important for men and women to struggle together ^{against} the deep-seated sexism that continually reinforces their separation. All of us know that sexism does not disappear because men are not around. Sexism will be eliminated only when women help men confront this Bourgeois disease, and when we all come to understand its roots in US

imperialism.

At the same time, I recognize that it is often necessary for women to form separate cells and organizations or to form separate caucuses within their particular group in order to deal with specific problems resulting from sexism or to accomplish particular objectives that can be achieved more successfully or more effectively through cooperation. To do this requires in effect the foundation for build-

At one point ~~after~~ about a month or so after ~~the~~ ^{her} arrest
Gelina asked ~~having~~ ~~she~~ ~~ever~~ ~~got~~ ~~horny~~. It
bothered her not being able to ~~have~~ ~~sex~~ ~~fuck~~.
~~The~~ Tania responded that it ~~should~~ ~~be~~ obviously
bothered her ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~question~~ just like anyone else
in a similar situation. Gelina then asked her,
~~again not knowing what to expect, if she~~ ~~even~~
~~thought about~~ ~~(what she had been told)~~ ~~if~~ anyone
in the Cell. wanted to fuck...
(She said that she would like to sleep w/ Kariot)

This is a summary of the answers to this question

2. But what if individual people have a right out this structure? What sort of people are there?

Co-- an example of Veterans of; I'd not at all it in experience because he went 18 yrs. in Vietnam as a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ soldier on a combatance team; one of the few white people who went up to Hounded Knee with the intention of using arms to help the Sioux nation defend its right to self-determination.

Coal & Co-- When they were in San Quentin there were several occasions when the pigs tried to set them up by attempting to create the racial tensions and divisions by trying to get -backs to "hate" these brothers because they were white. But there was no unity between these two brothers and the other prisoners; When they hadn't even been arraigned, sentenced or convicted of a crime they were put in the "hole" at San Quentin, a state prison, for "security reasons", and while there were there the pigs took them on a tour of the prison where they were insulted at them and said that they'd be seeing that place again soon; They were beaten by the pigs on the way to court one morning because the pigs couldn't get the prisoners to do it.

Elizabeth-- name means Victorious; deep understanding of what it's like for bl. people to live in this country; married Gilbert Perry and for a long time didn't have anything to do with white people but was mostly around bl. people; spent 24 hrs. a day with herself; very learned from Jim and other people and time to be example; incredible self-discipline and determination to attain to her weaknesses; never wasted time; she fought us to struggle with our country and to serve our power for the energy

... couldn't just love them as the mother during a visit or think of them only while writing a letter.

We knew that it would take a revolution for all of us to be together, and that ^{this regime} it would take ^{total commitment} all of our effort. We also ~~know that it would take our commitment to practically embrace the tactics and strategy of armed struggle.~~

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2. Having arrived at this point, where you were actually contemplating acts of revolutionary violence, were you really prepared to go through with it? Did you experience some fear?

A. It would be dishonest to say that ^{we} ~~we~~ don't experience fear, anxiety.....~~Just speaking for myself,~~ Because of my class background, violence had not been a common part of my daily life. It has been imperative for me to eliminate my fear of violence, the reluctance to be violent when necessary. I had to overcome pacifist attitudes. Comrade George Jackson called this the ability to synthesize ~~HN XXXXXXXX~~ feelings of "perfect love and perfect hate." The more I learned to love the people, correspondingly, the more I began to hate capitalism, imperialism, racism, sexism, individualism and the class-enemies who support these forms of mass oppression. For some people, intellectually coming to understand the practical necessity of revolutionary violence is not as difficult as it is ^{concrete} to put that understanding into/practice. Violence from our perspective is a revolutionary tool, not the product of blind, thoughtless, reactionary emotionalism. ~~XXXXXXX~~ Revolutionary violence must ~~be~~ be calculated and devastating. ~~We~~ ^{These class enemies} have trained ourselves in the methodology of revolutionary violence, and

solution. The current trend is toward military/political
unity among revolutionary fighting forces. A good example to
follow is MEXXX Latin America's Council of Revolutionary
Coordination. In other words, the concept of the War Council

has become ~~is~~ a practical reality for both North and South America.

We feel that sound, revolutionary, political theory is
the guiding light of the armed struggle, but we do not demand
total ideological unity in order to work together with other
guerrilla ^{forces} ~~groups~~. Ideological unity will be forged through
revolutionary practice and revolutionary armed struggle. Un-
compromising determination to defeat the common enemy by any
means necessary is the ^{major basis} ~~prerequisite~~ ^{for} the formation of
the military/political united front.

At this time there is no communist party to lead the ~~masses~~ ^{struggle}.
Revolutionary practice shows us that the political unity nec-
essary to solidify the formation of a true communist party
does not yet exist. Unity ~~XXXXXXXX~~ and trust does not exist be-
tween revolutionary Whites and Third World revolutionaries; XXX
Racism ^{exists to be} ~~is~~ the main obstacle to the successful formation
of a party that can lead both the military and political fronts.
However, the absence of a vanguard communist party does not
stop revolutionaries from ^{working} ~~helping~~ to create the conditions
necessary for such a party's formation. These conditions are
created both above and below ground, by both legal and illegal
means. ^{Each is necessary to ensure the survival of the}
~~One will not win without the other.~~

Q. How long do you think the struggle will take?

A. I don't have a crystal ball. I will be surprised if I get
to see the end of the armed struggle; not because I expect to
die any day now, but because I see that it will take a long time.

Q. Now, when you say that you are not afraid to die, do you mean that you are not afraid to die?

A. I can't accept death without knowing that I have struggled to my highest potential. I refuse to die a senseless death. I intend to survive, but if a consequence of my action is that I might die....well, I won't be the first, nor will I ~~undoubtedly~~ ~~be~~ be the last. Throughout the history of this earth millions of brave comrades have given their lives in the struggle for freedom. No more precious a gift can a revolutionary give to her or his people. Chairman Mao said that to die for the people is heavier than a mountain. ~~REVOLUTIONARIES HAVE ALWAYS~~ ~~LIVED, BUT THESE LIVES HAVE NEVER BEEN~~ ~~WASTED.~~

We all must understand that
We all must, we'll not be given our freedom. We will have to tear it from the throats of our oppressors. The enemy is neither inept nor stupid, neither generous nor humane. Our rulers intend to survive "by any means necessary". Our revolution is not going to be peaceful, it is going to take a long time and it isn't going to be easy. And I have no doubt in my mind that we are going to win.

The media has kind of mythologized & distorted
T/p. 1 What members of the SLA were really like. To
an urban guerrilla help be
How did you become a revolutionary that downy
Since you ~~probably~~ were not born a revolutionary, Teko, ~~maybe~~ ^{I think its important}
how did you come to be what you are? ~~maybe you could start~~ ^{for you}
~~from the beginning.~~ ~~could~~ go into your background.
Where did you grow up?

~~After living a couple of years in California and Oregon, my~~
~~family moved~~ ^{PP} to Indianapolis, Indiana. ~~where~~ I grew up in
a white working class neighborhood. ⁱⁿ My father was a salesman.
In 1957, when I was twelve, my family moved out of the city. ^{This was} During
the period ^{of} the ^{great} exodus of whites from the city to the suburbs.
~~begin to speculate.~~ I spent the next six years of my life in
to a racist white suburban community north of Indianapolis.

My father ~~had~~ bought a lifetime mortgage on a new house next
to a golf course. That was his idea of utopia--he was a golf
addict.
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I graduated from high school in relative obscurity and
when I was 18 I enrolled at Indiana University in Bloomington.
At that time I was a rebellious conservative, a ^{closet} ~~XXXXXX~~ anarchist.
I detested all forms of authority but politically I was very
naive. My family was republican, "the flag and apple pie", like
the rest of Indiana. ~~but~~ They didn't force-feed me their ideo-
logy, ^{But} I sort of picked it up by osmosis. I was cynical, dis-
trusted politicians, hated rich people, always sided with the
underdog; but was mostly interested in drinking beer and
watching jocks run back and forth. My grades were horrible
and after four semesters they threw me out. That was in 1965.
^{Left Indiana}
I ~~hit the road~~, thinking it would all be easier in "the promised
land", and ended up in San Francisco. I was having a hard time
finding steady work because the draft was hanging over my head,

and the job I did get was seasonal. So after about seven months I headed back to the Midwest. Following two weeks of hassling with my parents, and in defiance of all logic and sanity, I joined the Marine Corps. This was December, 1965. At that time they were taking two-year enlistments which were similar to the draft, but voluntary. The object of this program was to ship suckers like me off to Vietnam as rapidly as possible. Of course, this part of the "deal" wasn't explained until later.

There are generally two kinds of ex-marine. The first, and most common, is the patriotic arch-reactionary, racist, mad-dog mecho. But, ^{which is} marine corps boot camp, a factory producing psychopaths, unintentionally turns out a dangerous breed of "reject". These are the rebels who never really fit the mold, who never quite become one of the "few good men". Imagine ^{Frankenstein} as a conscious revolutionary. The military creates the potential seed of its own destruction. The two years I spent in the "green machine", most of it in Vietnam, forced me to drastically re-evaluate "the program".

How did the experience of going to Vietnam affect you? Did it
Q. ~~What happened to you in Vietnam to change your view of~~
things?

When I first got to Vietnam,

A. I didn't feel solidarity with the Vietnamese revolutionaries, but the most of it I didn't understand why I was there. I didn't want to be the only one who was homosexual and culture shocked. Vietnam was also my first experience with G.I.s, most of whom were a lot of asses, which is the duty of a lot of us. It also made it impossible to be a "gay" - it was supposed to be. KKK didn't turn into

* Those children, but the Globe ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~cleared~~ ^{cleared} away the cobwebs of military propaganda and lawlessness. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XX
XX

? When I first got to Vietnam not many Whites were smoking marijuana; ~~I~~ ^{Some of the} I got turned on by the Blacks in my company. Getting high together helped break down the racial barriers that are reinforced by ~~the racism in~~ the military. The ~~main reasons~~

I ~~learned in Vietnam were around the racism that pervades the military, the Marine Corps in particular.~~ There is a high percentage of Black and other Third World brothers in the

USMC and the highest concentration of them are in the "grunts", the infantry. ^{Because of white racism in the Marine Corps} ~~In the marine corps half the whites are~~

"crackers" ~~and most of the rest are so brain-washed that the~~ ^{in order}

Third World brothers were forced to unite ^{had to be} to survive. The unity in Vietnam among non-whites ~~was~~ ^{had to be} even greater than it is

here on the streets and in the communities. ^{ass-holes} ~~It had to be that~~

~~way~~ because of all the ~~ass-holes~~ ^{base camps} with a Klan mentality walking around ^{armed} to the teeth.

^{of the} Very few ^{I knew} ~~had~~ ^{had the opportunity of going} ~~ever~~ ^{had} been to college. In fact, many of them hadn't finished high school. Most were forced into the ^{military} ~~"military"~~ because of unemployment and poverty. XXXXXXXXXXXX
XX
XX

XX
XX

Fascist judges had given many "enlistees" ^{Third World Brothers in} the choice between

* the marine corps ^{or} ~~and~~ going to jail. They received frame-up, suspended sentences in exchange for at least thirteen months in Vietnam. This was a slick ruling class ploy to insure that poor and Third World young men ~~would~~ ^{would} make up the bulk

~~of the~~ of the infantry, the common ladder for US I per-
 ism.

In Vietnam, just like at home, the Blacks got the shit-
 end of the stick, only worse. In the "front", they had to
 put up with constant harassment and every imaginable de-
 grading and dehumanizing shit-detail. Out in the "bush",
 Blacks were first choice to walk point, take the listening
 post, or the weak hole on the perimeter. In other words,
 when whites were in command, Black and other Third World GI's
 had more chances to make the casualty list. Any one who ex-
 hibited militancy or racial pride could soon expect to visit
 the brig, the hospital or Graves Registration.

Eventually, however, the racism of the lifers and the
 military in general backfired as more and more racial and
 national unity was built among the rank and file. ^{Conscious} White
 GI's also entered the struggle against racism. ~~in somewhat~~
~~smaller numbers~~. By the time I left Vietnam, in 1967, the
 folks back home were beginning to hear about mysterious
 shaggyings. Officers and NCO's were getting blown away ~~in~~
 fire-fights, not by "Charlie", but by "accidentally" get-
 ting ^{CAUGHT} in some brother's line of fire. Crackers were learning
 that overt racist behavior was very bad for the health. And
 most importantly, discontent within the ranks was putting a
 hurt on ^{the U.S.} imperialist military machine.

The most disgusting racism in Vietnam was directed
 against the Vietnamese people. As the Vets in Winter Soldier
 pointed out, we were trained, brainwashed, into believing that
 the people were animals. We were sent there to "kill gooks".
 My 1st brothered every day. GI's were responsible for more in-

credibly sick and inhuman behavior, but then, the atrocities
 of the war and file are ^{largely} a reflection of the racism of their
 leadership and the inhumanity of US Imperialism. We brutal-
 ized, raped and murdered unarmed civilians, and got our
 asses kicked by the People's Army. Now that is People's
 justice.

2. Did you develop anti-war sentiments while you were still
 in Vietnam?

A. Yes. I was still in Vietnam when I began to realize
 that anti-war GI's could be a "trump card" for the anti-war
 movement. It soon became clear that many of us were against
 the war and that the hawks ^{at home} were going to have a rough time
 discrediting us. ^{As veterans} ~~We began to see that~~ we had a lot more
 potential credibility with mis-guided middle america than
 did ^{A LOT OF THE STUDENTS.} ~~the so-called "long hair, commie war protesters"~~. While I
 was in Vietnam, a friend of mine in New York ~~would~~ send me
 propaganda bulletins released by the National Liberation
 Front. ~~XX~~ She
 knew that I needed the education. I'd ~~would~~ read them and
 then, when no one was looking, I'd tack them up on the Bulletin
 board in the company headquarters. I didn't think of myself
 as a revolutionary or anything like that. To me it was more
 like a prank, guerrilla theatre. More than anything I hated
 MARINE CORPS. ^{the USMC.} I mostly just stayed high and hoped we didn't get
 hit. The last thing I wanted to do was fight ^{the so-called enemy} ~~the~~ ^{the MARINES} ~~the~~
 When I got back to the states I still owed ~~about~~ ^{about} five months which I spent at Camp Lejeune, N.C. an ex-
 perience during this period that really helped me was the

March on the Pentagon in October, 1967. The same friend who sent me the FIF propaganda talked me into meeting her at the demonstration. I had never been to a big demonstration and, ~~initially~~, it really blew my mind to see 300,000 people, together, protesting the war. My friend and I spent the week-end on the steps of the ~~feeding~~ Pentagon. We chanted, sang, rapped, shared food and passed joints with the rest of the people. I almost forgot I was still in the marine corps.

Q. How was your life affected by the anti-war Movement after you left the service?

A. When I came out of the Marine Corps I knew that the war was wrong, but this was primarily a gut reaction ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ to military peonage. At that time I had little understanding of imperialism and the systematic and murderous way in which the US ~~capitalists~~ ^{imperialists} maintain their empire. I felt a comradeship with the people in the anti-war Movement. I wasn't sure how the Movement would relate to me, ^{though,} because at that time there ~~were~~ were serious anti-GI sentiments within the student dominated Movement. Some ^{people} thought that anyone who went to Vietnam was a criminal. It wasn't until later on that the students began to see that they had allies within the military rank and file. It also took a while for most GI's to get over their resentment of college students who used their class privilege to avoid the draft. Most GI's felt that they had no choice in being shipped off to Vietnam to do the shit-work for imperialism. ^{MANY GIs CONSIDERED DESERTING, I} ~~most~~ ~~didn't~~ ~~even~~ ^{were} ^{too} ^{afraid} ^{split} ^{because} ^{They} ^{did} trust their ^{own} ability to survive in exile. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The brothers who ~~deserted~~ ^{did} were very courageous, but the sad fact

is that many of them, due to their ^{lower} class position and lack of a decent education, ended up in jail on ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{Set stuck} ~~XXXXXX~~ with a bad case of the "Jones". ~~For a lot of~~

~~GI's and Vietnam Veterans there was, at first, a serious class contradiction that kept them separated from the anti-war movement.~~

~~XXXXXX~~ In the Winter of 1968 I re-enrolled at Indiana University under the GI Bill. Shortly after that I met an I.U. graduate and Vietnam veteran named Jeff Sharlet who was putting together the first GI Movement newspaper, Vietnam GI. He was a real strong organizer working out of Chicago. In no-time the paper was reaching thousands of GI's and Vietnam veterans throughout the country and overseas.

Jeff died a couple years after I met him, but the paper helped spawn many other underground GI newspapers, and, ~~of course,~~ ^{helped build} the GI Movement, ^{which} played a major role in forcing the US out of Vietnam. The imperialists could no longer ^{Count} ~~depend~~ on the military rank and file, ^{(poor and} working class youth), to protect and defend the empire.

Q. What were the aims of this newspaper?

A. The GI Movement began by attempting to create unity among the rank and file. Vietnam GI was an anti-broads newspaper with an anti-war line. We knew that the main basis for unity among ~~GI's was around their~~ ^{common} ~~oppression by the military~~ the officers and lifers. The paper was written in the style of GI slang and the unique language of the Vietnam experience. It was amazing how swiftly that basis of unity was developed, especially since most GIs had been programmed into a "kill or be killed" ~~case~~

or is "for Christ" mentality. Once the practical unity was developed created the GI movement/XXXXXXXXXXXX an anti-imperialist focus in a relatively short time. If you hated your commanding officer and the other lifers and could see that they were puppets of the fascist government that sent you to Vietnam, then it isn't a very big jump to feeling a righteous comradeship with Vietnamese revolutionaries. *freedom fighters.*

2. How did your involvement with Vietnam GI and the GI Movement affect subsequent political activities?

1. In the summer of 1968 I received a letter from Vietnam Veterans Against the War inviting me to join them ~~in a march~~ ~~again~~ at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

At that time the VVAW leadership was pretty straight. They wanted to lobby with the delegates to gain support for Eugene McCarthy and the anti-war platform. They were asking that two vets from each state come to Chicago with a hair-cut, ~~and at least one suit, or sport jacket, and of course,~~ ~~a tie,~~ and then ~~engage in~~ ^{up} sweet-talking the delegates from their home state into voting liberal. We spent about four or five days being real polite to liberal pricks and arguing like hell with hawk reactionaries about the war, explaining how fucked up it was and how the Pentagon was lying to everyone. We'd bullshit with the politicians during the day and ~~at~~ night we'd go over to Michigan Avenue and fraternize with ~~the~~ comrades camped out in Grant Park. By Wednesday night, the night that the shit really hit the fan on Michigan Avenue, we were thoroughly frustrated and disillusioned. Earlier that afternoon the XXXXXXXX police had passed us and a lot of in-

10. 1
necort ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ up, pedestrians, including defense-
less senior-citizens, had been beaten up. McCarthy and the
anti-war platform were getting steamrolled so a lot of the
Vote decided it was time to help make war in the streets.

4 We liberated ourselves from our ridiculous outfits and "~~save~~" joined
into the battle. It was my first riot and it seemed that
every pig in the world was there, ~~and they were~~ ^{drooling}
and snorting around. Every now and then some fool ~~the~~ ^{The pigs would}
would chase one of us right into an ambush. ~~They~~ ^{get so}
wired, thinking that they could beat the shit out of another
hippie, that the sorry bastards wouldn't pay attention to
getting isolated and encircled by angry demonstrators.

5 Huge Chicago police vans ~~would~~ ^{tried} to drive through the
people holding the street and ~~shitty~~ ^{but} the motherfuckers
were ~~surrounded~~ ^{surrounded}, rocked over on ~~its~~ ^{their} sides, the ~~fuckers~~ ^{parts} police
inside petrified, knowing better than to ~~stop~~ ^{CRAWL} outside.
After the defeat at the convention, the riot was very liberating.

6. How did you feel about the role of the leadership at the
Chicago demonstration? Do you feel that they did an adequate
job?

7 ~~It was~~ ^{MORE THAN} adequate, ~~my~~ ^{criticism} ~~main~~ ^{HOWEVER,} ~~disappointment~~ was their fail-
ure to ~~organize~~ ^{Link up with} the ~~Black~~ ^{Leadership of the} and other Third World Communities
of Chicago. They failed to ~~link up~~ ^{unity} with the leadership of
these communities at a time when there was a high potential
to mobilize thousands of pissed off ^{oppressed} people. The Black Panther
Party and the Blackstone Rangers were involved but the ^{rest of} people
weren't. Earlier in the year when the anti-war leadership
and the Yippies began to organize the demonstration, Dr. ley

and the rest of the Chicago power structure began to get very-paranoid. ~~They weren't only worried about cracks tak-~~
~~ing over the park.~~ ^{It says Daley} ~~They~~ ^{his} didn't have to refresh their mem-
 ory to recall the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the riots that followed
 Dr. King's assassination. ^{in during that April.} ~~Everyone "just knew" that the~~
~~old town was going to be in for some real hot times come~~
 August. The mobilization of a couple of airborne regiments
 and the Illinois national guard to supplement the Chicago
 police department was not an over-reaction to the threat
 of dope and free-love in the park. ^R Most everyone was con-
 vinced that the entire South Side of Chicago was going to mob-
 ilize, causing a two front battle zone. As it turned out
 Blacks and other Third World people were content to see what
 Whites were going to do for a change, and the combined military
 forces at Daley's disposal were able to contain the riots with-
 out too much difficulty.

The real success of the Chicago demonstrations was that
 the defeat taught ~~XXXXXXXX~~ many of us how much more serious
 we were going to have to be to bring down the "Monster"--
 that we were not going to "yip" our way into a revolution,
 that revolution is not a prank or ~~XXXX~~ guerrilla theatre but
 rather ^{it} is a deadly serious state of class war. ~~Many~~
~~people still haven't learned this lesson, but it will be~~
~~learned.~~

When I was talking with you before this interview you voice
 criticisms of the anti-war movement in general
 and how would you deal with
 some people in the Movement who think that your criticisms
 are unwarranted or that they are too severe. How would you
 deal with this problem?

Could you
 repeat that
 and also
 indicate
 how you
 would

at Columbia
Black students, ~~and~~ community leaders joined
for a Democratic Society (SDS) joined together
in illustrating the ^{connection} ~~relationship~~ between ~~the~~ the
universities exploitation of the Black Community,
& its complicity with the ~~foreign~~ ruling class
the military in murdering people in Southeast
Asia. ^{On the West Coast.} A progressive anti-war white, joined
with the Black Panther Party, ^{other two groups} ~~on the West Coast~~
to build a ^{militant} united front against U.S.
imperialism.

~~frankly act,~~
 3. We must all learn to critically analyze our practices,
 rather than a defensive ~~attitude~~,
 maintaining a positive attitude. By this I mean that we
 must have a ^{responsibility} ~~commitment~~ to explain and celebrate the
 People's Victories. ^{We do this} In order to help stimulate positive
 revolutionary thinking among the masses. ~~We must do this~~ and
 to counter the bourgeois demoralization we all feel at times
 during protracted struggle. Yet, to insure our survival
 and guarantee our ~~XXXXX~~ total victory, we must thoroughly
 examine, criticize and correct our mistakes. We must be
 determined not to over-emphasize our early victories at
 the cost of overlooking errors and failing to learn from them
 in such a way that we can successfully eliminate our ^{early} ~~strategic~~
 weaknesses.

The anti-war Movement in the US played a major role in
~~for the liberation of a free Vietnam~~
 bringing the GI's home. The war is not over by any means,
~~but~~ Our Movement helped the Vietnamese defeat US imperialism.
 This is unmistakably a People's Victory. However, the weak-
 nesses of the Movement should certainly be criticized. These
 weaknesses are reflected in the class and racial character
 of the Movement's leadership, ^{and also it's basic larger base.} Our struggle was for too long
 isolated on the college campuses. For too long we reinforced
 the ruling class's divisive tactics by judging all workers
 to be in league with Brennan's misguided handbats. The move-
 ment ^{demonstrated} ~~also~~ its own racism by failing to link with and support
 the struggles of Third World people in the US for national
 liberation. These two factors kept the student-led anti-war
 Movement alienated from the mass of exploited and oppressed
 people in the US, the people in this country who were being
 kicked over the head by our fascist dictatorship. The ^{few} ~~ance-~~

our created reality when they got talkative with the capitalist press. It should also be pointed out that the media is not consistent in its characterization of any of our backgrounds. ~~They are very deceptive.~~ If they are trying to reach middle America they lay out their standard "Red agitator with Moscow connections" routine. ^{But} If they ~~are~~ intend ~~trying~~ to divide progressive forces they play with the myth they created themselves that ^{characterizes} ~~all~~ members of the SLA ~~characterized~~ ^{as} politically naive newcomers to the "revolution". The truth is that, like my comrades, I've had lots of experiences over nearly a decade of anti-imperialist political activity that have helped make me a freedom fighter. The leadership abilities I am developing now are largely due to the revolutionary example of the BLA, Weather Underground and FGF, the teaching of G.I., the collective experience of fighting together with some very determined comrades, and seeing first hand the oppression, exploitation and murder of the people in the community.

2. Soon after you returned to I.U. after leaving the Marine Corps, you met Yolanda. What significance did the beginning of this relationship have on your political activity?

A. I met Yolanda in the winter of 1968, ~~shortly after I returned to Indiana University.~~ She was pretty straight at that time, but very open-minded, and even though she thought that I was a little weird, she was not ~~totally~~ resistant to ^{new ideas} ~~ideas~~. Naturally, we had many struggles back then; we've been struggling ever since we first met, but the product of those struggles has been a lot of natural growth and

Switch to later part

During the ~~few~~^{first} months that ~~we~~^{from} operated in the Bay Area ~~between~~^{from} the Foster up to the ~~Blacksburg~~^{Blacksburg} assault no other underground groups were carrying out ~~of~~^{territory} activities in the Bay Area. So we were drawing ~~all~~^{all} the heat. The only other heavy pig activity was the ~~idea~~^{idea} on which ~~we~~^{we} ~~operated~~^{operated} also effected us, because we ~~also~~^{also} had a safehouse in the Western Addition. Because the pigs were able to concentrate ~~on~~^{on} finding all their activity ~~in~~ⁱⁿ relation to ~~finding~~^{finding} in our direction, the terrain of S.F. peninsula in particular, began to seem too small for our purposes. ~~Because~~^{Because} of the massive influx of counter-intelligence agents, ~~the~~^{the} ~~continued~~^{continued} presence of U.S. military personnel & the possible threat of some kind of localized martial law facilitating wide areas of house to house searches, ~~the~~^{the} ~~idea~~^{idea} ~~also~~^{also} ~~continued~~^{continued} us that S.F. could easily become the wrong place ~~to~~^{to} for us to be living, especially since all of us were still in one place.

2. We decided that the sprawling L.A. area was better suited ~~to~~^{to} for maintaining a high degree of mobility.

Q. Did you, after the bank robbery, move from San Francisco to Los Angeles. Was this a move undertaken?

A. At the time it seemed like a major change in our base of operations was ~~XXXXXX~~^{continuing} necessary in order to ~~XXXXXX~~ to operating military/political as a combat unit. ~~XXX XXXX~~ We could see that the pig activity in the Bay Area was continuing to escalate with a resulting loss of our mobility. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Even though we had just expropriated enough money to allow us to lay low for a period without worrying about our survival needs, specifically food and shelter; we weren't convinced that we could keep a low enough profile ^{to} avoid detection and encirclement. We also knew that the only way we could protect the little bits of the pigs and the media ~~XXXXXX~~ to isolate us from the people was to continue functioning militarily. Our actions would be our vehicle of communication to the people. However, analyzing all the conditions of our situation it began to seem that attempting military operations in the Bay Area would be very dangerous. We didn't want to leave the area where shelter with the "terrain" and had a lot of support from among the populace. For another reason, the conditions for operational survival were limited at best. But the more we discussed the matters we faced in remaining in the Bay Area, the more we realized that our geographical base, we became convinced that the risks of staying were less critical than those of leaving to seek out the investigation. So we moved. Looking back it seems like a very obvious decision.

SECRET

1) Why move

a. isolation

— investigation - most messier in history - didn't expect it to be so big a deal - didn't anticipate adequately the media or pig response - the intimidation of the left. didn't anticipate how hot each individual would get & the resulting loss of mobility & difficulty of getting financial support.

— Zebra - increased heat Couldn't adequately keep track of pig activities due to limited direct contact with the community - & loss of main contacts due to pig surveillance.

~~begin to lose~~

— loss of confidence in mobility in Bay Area. no longer felt invincible - needed new cool area to build a base in.

felt L.A. easier to get lost in - make contacts & begin to build base - Bay Area too small ^{permanent} lost patients to wait out heat. felt unrealistic need to continue military operations in order not to demoralize those who supported us.

let ourselves be manipulated by media warfare.

Should have stuck with Bay Area where we had much more support.

XXXXX THE FIRST THING IS THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION WAS XXXX
XXXXX THE SECOND THING IS THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION WAS XXXX
Does this mean that you feel in retrospect that it would have been
X. Since to have remained in XXXXXXXXXX northern California?
And, if no, what makes you feel that your chance of survival XXXXXX
XXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX would have been any better?

A. First of all there is no way of knowing for sure if it would
have been better to stay in the Bay Area. As we stated previously,
the heat was very intense. As the pigs, themselves, have pointed out
their investigation and search for the SIA and Tania was and continues
to be the most massive in XXX history. Elements of every counter-
intelligence and police agency in the country were and are involved
in the case. XXXXXXXXXX The investigation has
been international in scope, utilizing all available technology and
every illegal tactic imaginable. So it is impossible to theorize
that there was any particular area of California or the country for
that matter, where we could operate free of security problems.
Guerillas, especially in the early stages of mobilization, always
face the threat of detection and annihilation, ^{and} the level of gov-
ernment interference always corresponds to the quality of the
guerrilla action. By almost any standard, to continue functioning militarily,
it is understood that the heat would not subside. You can't declare
yourself a guerrilla and XXXXXXXXXX [The revolutionaries
don't mind their determination with the phrase "by any means nec-
essary" this is simply a mere acknowledgment of the fact that imperialism
stands for the interest of the ruling class.]

The next thing is to understand the situation. So our alliance at
the moment is with the people. There are a lot of people XXXX
in the country who are not happy with the situation. XXXX the situation

210 p. 10'

1

4. With the... start... level...
Proceeded to Los Angeles. ... and ...

A. At the time of the ... change in our mode of oper-
ation was necessary in order to continue ... history/
political Even though we had to ... out
the ... during ... period when the pigs were
trying to believe that we were ... we didn't achieve our
primary ... goal of rebuilding our infrastructure, our base. *

But ⁹ our ... and the reactions of the pig ... elimination ... of the
confusion that the people felt about us due to the Foster Operation.

* ~~... The pigs and ...~~ ^{reactionary} ... of the left were con-
tinuing their efforts to isolate us from the people.

shift their cents after this display of student end-crit-
 keep → They ~~then~~ countered by organizing a successful campaign to
 rid the university community of "dope-fiends, carriers and
 3 armed niggers." Within a year most of the student and
 faculty militants were ~~forced~~ ^{from the university} or driven out by poverty.
 It was like stepping back in time to the days of lynch
 worship and lynch raids. It was a major defeat for all
 progressives in the university community and as usual,
 those who lost the most were the Black students. The Black
 student leadership had carried out a militant struggle to
 force the creation of a revolutionary Black Studies Program.
 For a while it appeared that they had succeeded until the
 fascist board of trustees raised tuition, a move that
 effectively forced most Blacks out of the university. In
 the ensuing protests and demonstrations, the Black lead-
 ers were framed on phony riot and conspiracy charges and
 expelled from the university. Claude Taylor, a progressive
 Black faculty member, who was to head the new Black Studies
 Department, was summarily fired. The Black Studies Program
 which was to have a revolutionary militant faculty includ-
 ing Eldridge Cleaver and Sonia Sanchez, was instead "de-
 professionalized" and taken over by bourgeois opportunist and
 other Black leaders. *
 Since ^{had} ~~the~~ ^{you} ~~the~~ ^{main} ~~the~~ ^{main}, I ~~looked~~ ^{looked} toward
 the Black Liberation Movement for leadership. I was influ-
 enced by the ~~the~~ ^{Practice} militant ~~of~~ Black revolutionaries, their
 unwavering determination and the ~~the~~ ^{fight} ~~the~~ ^{fight} ~~the~~ ^{fight}
 of their struggle. The ~~the~~ ^{fight} ~~the~~ ^{fight} ~~the~~ ^{fight} for national liberation through

During peak period like the demonstration,
following the invasion of Cambodia & Laos.
There was a high level of vegetation again.
The ^{university} joined the Institute & Board of Trustees.
But expecting a faulty class perspective
many of the white ^{middle class} ~~middle class~~ ^{pull their edge} ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~complex~~
into the fight for student reforms.

A. Most of the activity was centered around opposition to the war in Vietnam and support for the Black Liberation Movement. I worked with WVA until I began to resent the liberal officer-class leadership ^{the} organization had in the late 1960's. The Indiana University chapter of Students for a Democratic Society was a relatively small group of intellectual elitists who were more adept at intimidating and alienating potential comrades than organizing a revolutionary, mass student movement. I was never close to the local SDS MKK group which eventually fell apart after that organization's factional divisions. The only other organized Left groups at Indiana University were the Young Socialist Alliance, which was more of an embarrassment than a revolutionary force, and the New University Conference, a small group of socialist academics. ~~Most of the student body, even the more progressive elements were more into~~

~~"getting through school" and getting high. A lot of the~~

~~rest of the "politics" elitists participated in student government. Spending most of the~~

~~of their time handling the fascist administration with the~~

~~focus on student reform. The Black students were, the most~~

~~Therapy Cultural - militant, nationalist in focus, but, far more progressive in their demands~~

~~than the white, elitist. The high point of the~~

student struggle at Indiana was when a member of the Indianapolis chapter of the Black Panther Party was elected

president of the student body. That was around 1971, during

the peak of the student movement. This comrade, Keith Parker,

was ^{also} member of ^{the} People's Peace Party delegation that

visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. ~~He was~~

~~also the ruling class agents who ran the university~~

OK
& keep
)

concretely

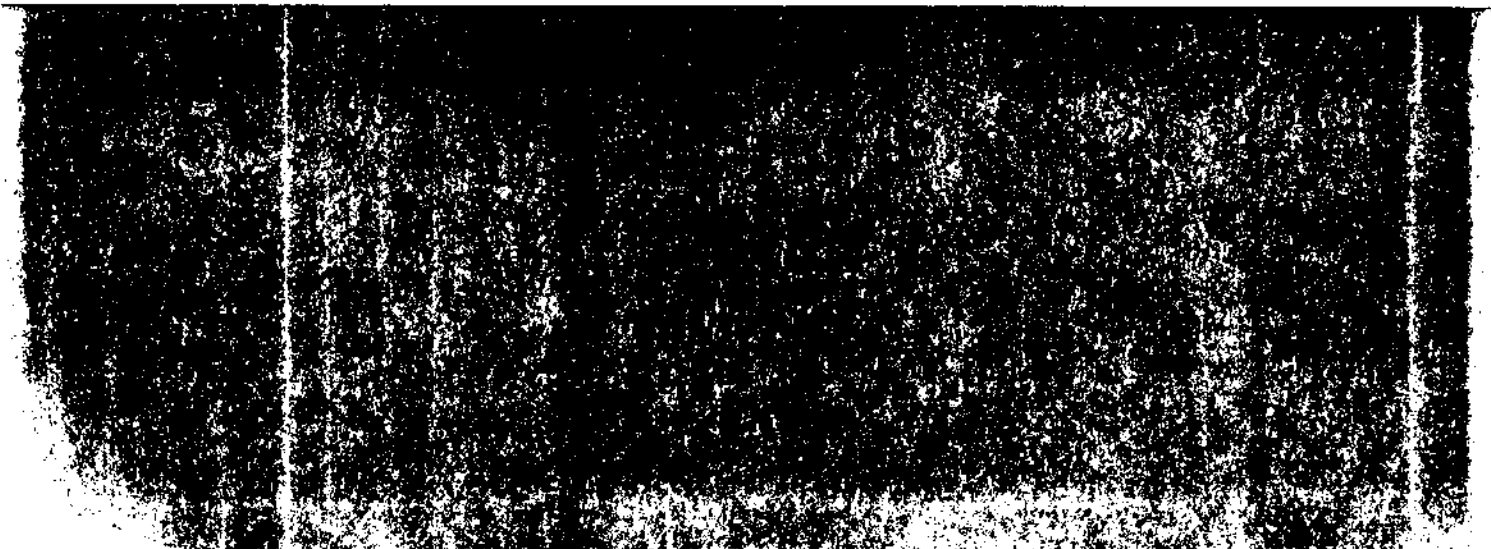
~~...very little.~~ I am undisciplined and I felt that socialist theory was too academic for me to understand. It wasn't until 1971 when I was in a summer program at Indiana University, that I found some interesting courses and instructors who introduced me to the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao ^{and intellectuals}. It was then that I began to understand what capitalism really ^{is} and how we are ruled by an economic system rather than ~~just~~ ^{a few} friends like Nixon and Herbert Hoover. I learned about socialism and ~~its~~ ^{got a better} understanding why ~~the~~ ^{capitalists are} constantly putting out ~~their~~ ^{anti-communist} propaganda. I began to understand what class struggle means and therefore, I began to develop class consciousness. I learned that racial oppression ^{is} a

~~product of capitalist exploitation and that Whites, who have~~
~~learned~~ ^{are} ~~programmed by the ideology of~~ racism, ^{are} also being used, exploited, by the economic system, and that they ~~are~~ ^{are} help-

ing to divide themselves from their class allies. ^{is over 2}
~~...in the US is a concrete example, ...~~

~~...the history of an office of US imperialism. ...~~
~~...I learned from ...~~
~~...I learned ...~~
~~...the only way to an environment of ...~~
~~...the ...~~
~~...the ...~~
~~...the ...~~

...the ... of the type of ...
...the ...
...the ...



revolutionary development.

Q. You said that when you and Yolanda first met that she thought you were a little weird. Could you explain that?

A. Well it's really nothing of major consequence. We met on a blind date, a fix-up by mutual friends, and at that time I was one of ~~about five people out of more than 3000~~ ^{about 20 people in Indiana} ~~students~~ who wore a moustache. I mean, that's how "weird" I was. That, coupled with dope smoking, made me somewhat of an oddity ^{among whites}. Bloomington, Indiana, is not known to be ~~such~~ ^{has been} a bastion of liberality. It ~~is~~ ^{is} very racist ^{and} ~~and I was fresh out of the Marine Corps where I'd had my consciousness raised~~ ^{around some of the contradictions} ~~when I got back to Bloomington there was a lot of the same racist shit going on there~~ ^{because of my presence in the military corps} things hadn't changed from when I was there before, but I was seeing it all a lot more clearly. ~~Anyway~~ ^{the shit was just that} I was very outspoken and intolerant of ~~the shit that~~ ^{for a white person} was going on around me and again that was not typical behavior in Bloomington, Indiana.

at this time?
Q. How would you characterize your political orientation at this time? Did there come a time when you began to view your political activities as inadequate?

A. The crystallization of my political ideas began from a typical student-anarchist mentality. At first, the only frame of reference I had concerning ~~Marxian ideology~~ ^{scientific socialism} was that I figured that if the ~~govt.~~ ^{govt.} hated Marxism so much, then there had to be something good about it. I developed a subjective attachment to Marxian ~~ideology~~ ^{ideology} but

Our first major problem was

+ impatience.

elation. In fact, it is the case of Caceres and other part-
icularly after the arrest of Patricia Morat, XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
This and the subsequent bank expropriation we became more and more
cut off from our closest contacts and primary areas of external sup-
port. Part of this problem was due to weak organizational practices
on our part which were a product of our own inexperience. XXXXX

XXXXXXXXXX Another weakness was underestimating the potential for and
consequences of a freak boat of any of our comrades. The incident
in Jarama changed our situation dramatically. Prior to that time
the group had no tangible leads in reference to the Foster operation.
We were continuing to mobilize, building a base from which to launch
future operations. Our comrades capture put us on the defensive
and nearly eliminated the infrastructure we had been creating. The

the Foster operation was intended to win back our initiative by creating
of popular support from which we could also provide some
the conditions to reach a building a strong base. Even though this

not in XXX
XXXXXXXXXX succeeded in gaining XXXXXXXX popular support XXXX for the SIA
the XXXXX 1 was aware of the disenfranchised masses in the Bay
Area, a not necessary criteria for building a strong base, it also
caused us *some* problems. XXX

It was clear, also, that we underestimated the people's response. XX
I didn't realize to the degree to which the people would lift our
ability to therefore it increased our isolation from the people,

in particular the most advanced elements of the population. It *also*
was very difficult to stay in contact with our former in-
ternational contacts. And because of the initial reaction to
the arrest operation XXX
our (lack of) international relations of the group for the time being.

Summary of our for the release of Oscar & B



[illegible][illegible]

The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is of European descent. This is a fact which is often overlooked, and which is of great importance in understanding the social and political conditions of the country.

By Bates to borrow and the group would to show the difficulty of
 it to have learned in the year since the shoot out in ^{Compton} LA is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

right from the beginning, and I have been told that
I have no doubt that the Government will be able to
obtain the pilot as it would be the best of all things
at her disposal.

Q. I think it was still in a box when it was moved from the car to the house, by the way, this move undertaken

- Volande -- I felt that in the long run because of the conditions at the time we could not continue to operate there as it stands - ~~that~~ our movement had been restricted by the number of sites in the community to the point where we did not have the flexibility and mobility necessary to move in fighting. Since that was the one thing that was important to us always all along, we decided to leave the community. ~~We were the first to leave it.~~

As SF Woko pointed out in the June 1974 communication, ~~that~~ it's a small town and it's a very small city. It's very busy for the size of the city since to saturate the area.

A ~~series~~^{series} of this situation was the hunt for the so-called
John Killer, which is understood to be essentially a hunt
for an individual first covered by the state in ~~order to~~^{order to} a decision
on the part of ~~community~~^{community}.

[illegible]

to put up with a lot of racist hysteria from local reactionaries. For the Blacks on the committee it was ~~just the~~ the same old shit, but for ~~some~~ the Whites it proved to be a valuable experience.

Also throughout that last year I helped some comrades ~~who had small children with~~ ^{their} cooperative child care center. It was one of about seven such centers ~~run~~ ^{operated} by parents and volunteers which provided excellent child care, and ~~because the centers were run cooperatively,~~ ^{at a} the cost to each family ~~was~~ ⁸ less than \$15.00 per month. Cooperative child care in Bloomington grew out of the Women's Movement and it became a base from which men and women were able to struggle together around sexism. My comrades taught me that I had a revolutionary responsibility to help care for their children. When I first started helping out at the Big Monster Family House I knew little about my own sexism and was totally ignorant around the struggles of parents, especially the sisters who were ^{raising their children} ~~making it~~ alone. The entire experience was a gigantic kick in the ass for me.

2. How was Yolanda developing politically during this period?

m/l
A. Yolanda was ^{getting more involved} ~~starting to get interested~~ in the Women's Movement. ^{*over} We were living together; I was still a student and she was teaching eighth grade. ^{had it easy} I ~~was skating~~ because I didn't care about the degree, I was only taking courses to collect the GI Bill, and I didn't have to ^{study} anything but ~~that~~ ^{things} I was interested in. Yolanda, however, was really busting her ass and busting every minute of it. She was trying to teach, putting all of her effort into ~~XXXXXX~~ being relevant, but the school

She also was developing the roots of a
m/c political orientation.

system was so revolutionary that she was burning herself out in frustration. I was getting high off of the things I was learning and the comrades I was with but Yolanda was experiencing few highs and a lot of depression. She'd come home from school wiped out and then spend the rest of the evening working on new tactics for the next day, ~~the next~~ week or month. The contradiction in our mental conditions created a lot of resentment on her part, and our personal relationship was affected by it. This was also a period when I was beginning to learn about the oppression of women and how my weaknesses and attitudes of male supremacy were backward ~~and~~ ^{getting on the} reactionary. And like many other brothers I was not putting this knowledge into practice as rapidly as I was capable of doing. I'd get to thinking I was real advanced on the Woman Question and then drag my feet while I patted myself on the back. ~~It's like I didn't get my ass kicked by the sisters I knew.~~ Looking back, I deserved a real ass-kicking from the ~~sisters I knew.~~ ^{sisters I knew.}

Q. In what ways, then, did Yolanda's development as a strong woman have on your relationship?

A. ~~We each were going through a lot of changes at the same time. Our development wasn't necessarily parallel so at times there were hassles, resentments. But since I knew that I was sexist, I knew that I had a great responsibility to change myself. I can't honestly say that I have it all straightened out yet, just with the women. XXXXXXXX I see it as a life struggle. Very late in my life I realized that I had been carrying around three heavy yokes: racism, sexism and classism. I have dedicated myself to eliminate all traces of these sicknesses and I won't stop struggling until I die. I've been~~

2. In what ways, then, did Yolanda's development as a strong woman affect your relationship?

1. We each were going through a lot of changes at the same time. Our development wasn't necessarily parallel so at times there were hassles, resentments. At first, I was trying to teach Yolanda things I had learned about the corruption of the US government, about white racism and the need for socialist revolution. But I was often impatient with her, arrogant and patronizing. I didn't understand that my sexism was making it impossible for ^{her} to want to struggle with me. In my own ignorance I would treat her like she was stupid. Eventually I began to learn about my sexism and it became clear that I had to get my shit together.

By the time we left Ind,

~~During this period~~, Yolanda was growing rapidly. She began to attack her weaknesses, showing a determination that became an example for many of ^{us} to follow. She concentrated on developing new strengths, both political and military, and in the process gained new confidence in her abilities. Many of us looked to her for leadership. She began to teach me things, which in the beginning was a change in roles that was confusing to me. I found that ~~I had to fight~~ my ego ^{was part of struggle against} ~~as much as my socialism~~ ^{sexism}. As we each worked to overcome our weaknesses, we learned more of what it takes to be a revolutionary, and because of this process we grew to love and respect each other more. We've found that we have counter-balancing strengths and weaknesses, and therefore, work well together as a team. Considering ^{all} the problems ^{developed & through} the growing process we've both gone through, we have ~~become~~ comradeship because we did struggling together. ~~Relationships~~

I see that eliminating my sexism will be a life struggle.

XX

XX

they refuse to ~~XXXXXX~~ let their minds be controlled by the

W ruling class, its ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ corrupt government and reaction-
ary media.. My parents haven't ~~always~~ agreed with me but they
always listen. Our struggles have at times been heated but
are always healthy. I'm not certain that they totally under-
stand why I'm fighting, but they do know that I'm not bull-
shitting around. I have always been open and honest with them
so they have a clear idea of how serious I am.

In the past my mother would resist the things I'd tell
her. When reality became unpleasant she would pretend not to
see it.. But each year since I returned from Vietnam she has
become more and more progressive. ~~Many of us in the SIA have~~
~~been sold-out by our parents. XXXXXX some have even functioned~~
~~as police agents.~~ *OF them*
F My family has set a beautiful example for
other parents ~~whose children become revolutionaries~~, to follow.
Some comrades grow up influenced by leftist fathers and mothers;
my parents ^{have} grown into middle age influenced by ^a crumbling society
and a "commie, malcontent" son. They have been harrassed by the
FBI, ~~XXX~~ other agents of the state and probably most of their
"friends". ~~A beautiful example of their strength is reflected~~ *My Parents*
in a public message my mother recently sent to me.

"Toko--I, along with all your family, panicked
after the May 17th massacre. Then I was able
to hear the June 7th tape in its entirety and
could begin to understand your total commit-
ment to the fight against oppression of all
kinds.....You are always in my thou. hts
and I am proud of you. Mostly I hope you will

remember the last thing I said to you as
we drove away from you in Oakland in Jan-
uary-----I love you." XXXXXXXX

Q. In ~~about~~ 1972 you left Bloomington, Indiana and moved to
Oakland, California. What were the reasons behind this move?

A. It wasn't a spur of the moment decision. We knew that we
had to escape from Bloomington and the university's environ-
ment of isolation. ~~We knew we had to continue to grow ~~and~~ but~~
~~that it couldn't happen XXXXXXXX at that time in Indiana.~~

In April of 1972 we both read a statement, in Right On!, writ-
ten by Zayd Malik Shakur and the Black Liberation Army. Spring
Came Early This Year was an explanation of why the BLA was en-
gaging in urban guerilla activity, why they executed rank and
file NY police and carried out expropriations from banks. We
were stimulated by the ideas of the BLA, ~~making up to the~~
~~practical reality and necessity of organizing military/politi-~~
~~cal cells for operation right here in "Babylon".~~ We didn't
move to Oakland ^{in order} to go underground but to find comrades who
could help us move forward ^{politically}. We wanted to involve ourselves ~~XX~~
more heavily in revolutionary ^{practice} activity, to see for ourselves
if the time was right for engaging in armed struggle. XXXXXXXX-

~~XX~~
~~XX~~
~~XX~~

After a short while ^{of the} we came in contact with some cadre of Von-
ceremon organization. We supported XXXXX the organization's X
Principles of Unity which we felt were the most progressive of
the ^{revolutionary} groups in the area.

ion camps. I participated in mass work around convict demands during strikes at Folsom and San Quentin. We ^{helped distribute} ~~carried~~ the distribution of ~~out~~ propaganda to counter the bullshit put out by the California Department of Corrections (CDC). We worked with revolutionary ~~ex-convicts and other comrades like ourselves who had never been locked up.~~ Most importantly, we came in contact with some of the wisest revolutionary teachers in America. ~~the brothers we knew and loved, political prisoners of this decadent, fascist state.~~ It was during this period that Yolanda and I progressed the most rapidly. We had never before been in personal contact with comrades on the "inside". Our knowledge of prison struggles had been limited to what we had read and ~~XXX~~ a few contacts with ex-cons in the revolutionary movement on the West coast. We were very lucky to come to know the brothers ^{inside} ~~we did~~ because they gave us the kick in the ass we needed. They taught us not to compromise, that there was no X time to waste and that the most practical way to support them was to concentrate on making the revolution. They emphasized that there needed to be more comrades on the outside who were willing to go further than give "lip-service" to armed struggle. It was clear to them that they had little chance of being free without the support of a revolutionary, armed military force acting in their's and other oppressed people's behalf. They taught us that talk was cheap and that the ^{revolutionary} actions of freedom fighters were priceless.

Q. Exactly what sort of people were the prisoners you and Yolanda came to know?

A. They are revolutionaries. Blacks, Chicanos, Whites.

ion camps. We participated in mass work around convict demands during strikes at Folsom and San Quentin. We ^{helped distribute} ~~carried~~ ~~the distribution of~~ ~~our~~ propaganda to counter the bullshit put out by the California Department of Corrections (CDC). ~~We worked with revolutionary ex-convicts and other comrades like ourselves who had never been locked up.~~ Most importantly, we came in contact with some of the wisest revolutionary teachers in America. ~~the brothers we knew and loved, political prisoners of this decadent, fascist state.~~ It was during this period that Yolanda and I progressed the most rapidly. We had never before been in personal contact with comrades on the "inside". Our knowledge of prison struggles had been limited to what we had read and ~~xxx~~ a few contacts with ex-cons in the revolutionary movement on the West coast. We were very lucky to come to know the brothers ^{inside} ~~we did~~ because they gave us the kick in the ass we needed. They taught us not to compromise, that there was no time to waste and that the most practical way to support them was to concentrate on making the revolution. They emphasized that there needed to be more comrades on the outside who were willing to go further than give "lip-service" to armed struggle. It was clear to them that they had little chance of being free without the support of a revolutionary, armed military force acting in their's and other oppressed people's behalf. They taught us that talk was cheap and that the ^{revolutionary} actions of freedom fighters were priceless.

Q. Exactly what sort of people were the prisoners you and Yolanda came to know?

A. They are revolutionaries. Blacks, Chicanos, Whites.

2. In what ways did you and Yolande support your comrades in prison? What was the nature of your commitment to them?

A. We'd write, send books, visit regularly, send and pass money. Pretty soon we got hip to what was really happening to our comrades, how every day was a struggle to survive in the face of fascist attacks by racist pigs and misguided reactionary fellow convicts. We came to realize that no matter what these brothers did to keep a clean "jacket", that the

~~brothers~~ ^{burrows} ~~on the California Adult Authority would deny them parole~~ each year because of their political beliefs. ~~and unwavering,~~ ~~revolutionary love for the people.~~ It didn't take long to realize that our commitment to these comrades had to be TOTAL, ^{*} their needs came first, ours second. For them it was a question of life or death. If they needed any kind of help, then we would do all that we could to provide it. And if the opportunity arose we would help them escape. ~~If they needed money,~~ ~~tools, weapons or explosives, we would do everything in our~~ ~~power to XXX see that they got them.~~ ^{operations} ~~Sometimes the XXXXX failed~~ ~~or we were unable to carry out our end of a plan either due~~ ~~to our own inexperience or a lack of resources.~~ ~~But sometimes~~ ~~we were successful.~~ Because of these experiences we ~~have~~ ^{saw clearly}

~~acquired an understanding~~ that ~~making~~ making revolution would involve "illegal tactics", illegal in the sense that all the

laws are created by the bourgeoisie, the ruling class. ~~the pigs.~~ Of course, under these laws it is illegal to be free. We intend to be free, we intend ^{that} ~~XXX~~ our comrades in prison ^{will} ~~XX~~ be free, we intend that the people will be free and we do not respect the laws of the enemy. ~~XXXXXX XXX XXXXX~~ ^{slave masters} Our ~~plans~~ are breaking the laws of humanity.

add from
page 31

1. The first "revolution" in the United States was the
Those of us in the SLA
felt that the revolutionary activity had to be carried out in
its totality, at all levels. In other words, we felt that the
revolutionary or existing and other good work that was going on
around us, some of which we were involved in, was being crippled
backed because of the absence of a strong armed front, which we
consider to be the axis of all revolutionary activity. The

social and political conditions of the society, were then, and
continue to be
ripe for popular armed resistance. We agreed with

Jacques Guérilla ^{Jackson} and his tactical evaluation of fascism in
America, that it does, indeed, exist now; and that if we

Conscious revolutionaries have ~~responsibility~~ *responsibility*
~~to step into the arena and back up our words with action.~~

We felt we could not justify "talking revolution" for the rest
of our lives. We could ^{not} rationalize inaction while the children
in our communities were being gunned down, the old people
freezing in winter and starving all year round, the poor ex-
ploited at every level, and the workers robbed every day on the
job.

~~It was an outrage~~
It was ~~an outrage~~ ^{outrage} to witness ~~the support for~~
~~the armed struggle through-out the rest of the~~
world, while our comrades could bring themselves to support
the armed struggle that ~~already existed~~ ^{was} in this country.

We wanted to illustrate to the enemy that the CIA and the
~~Understand that we were not supported only with rhetoric. In-~~
~~ature "leftists" have contended that the Weather~~ ^{people} ~~were~~
"politically incompetent adventurists", while they, themselves,
opportunisticly covered from the responsibility of joining
or supporting the armed struggle. Paralyzed by racism, these
buffoons state that the CIA doesn't even exist. And it

~~date for Jahizah's letter (can go at the end)~~
~~January 15 or 16 or 17~~
Jahizah's letter - out

#4 take out Hearst fortune section
concentrate just on food program

#5 include section about left
most out execution of Tania
& hostages
Cin's section

#7 include most of Ja's part
small part about Cin
Cin's part about his
children

(20)

7-15200 PF Q2126

Declaration	25 pages	June 7 15 pgs
#1 Foster	4 pages	
#2 Kidnap	3 pages?	
#4 Kidnap	3 pages?	
#5 Kidnap	5 pages?	
#7 Kidnap	3 pages?	
	2	

THE COMMUNIQUE

It was the Symbionese Liberation Army. After three days of silence following the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, both BARR and KPFA received a communique from the SLA in Thursday morning's mail.

KPFA news editor Paul Fischer phoned the Hearst family, and they came down to the office to pick it up. Enclosed with the letter came a Mobil Oil credit card bearing Randolph Hearst's name, which he confirmed was one used by his daughter. The letter mailed to BARR — typewritten and with a Berkeley postmark — contained no enclosures.

Here is the complete text of the communique:

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY
Western Regional Adult Unit

February 4, 1974

Communique #3

Subject: Prisoners of War

Target: Patricia Campbell Hearst, daughter of Randolph Hearst,

corporate enemy of the people

Warrant Order: Arrest and protective custody; and if resistance execution.

Warrant Issued by:

The Court of the People

On the afore-stated date, combat elements of the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army armed with cyanide-loaded weapons served an arrest warrant upon Patricia Campbell Hearst.

It is the order of this court that the subject be arrested by combat units and removed to a

protective area of safety and only upon completion of this condition to notify Unit #4 to give communication of this action.

It is the directive of this court that during this action ONLY no civilian elements be harmed if possible, and that warning shots be given. However, if any citizens attempt to aid the authorities or interfere with the implementation of this order, they shall be executed immediately.

This court hereby notifies the public and directs all combat units in the future to shoot to kill any civilian who attempts to witness or interfere with any operation conducted by the peoples forces against the fascist state.

Should any attempt be made by authorities to rescue the prisoner, or to arrest or harm any S.L.A. elements, the prisoner is to be executed.

The prisoner is to be maintained in adequate physical and mental condition, and unharmed as long as these conditions are adhered to. Protective custody shall be composed of combat and medical units, to safeguard both the prisoner and her health.

All communications from this court MUST be published in full, in all newspapers, and all other forms of the media. Failure to do so will endanger the safety of the prisoner.

Further communications will follow.

S.L.A.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST IN-
SECT THAT PREYS UPON THE
LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

February 4, 1974

underestimated the effect that it might have in misleading the American people. ~~as to our intentions. Basically~~ ^{confusing} ^{people.} ~~Basicly~~

~~Most~~ People ^{only} had 2 actions and several communiques
to use as a basis of trust for the SLA and that just
wasn't enough to give them a basis for trusting that
we weren't ~~sending~~ ^{setting} 3 innocent people up for execution.

Counteract the propaganda of the media that we were terrorists setting 3 innocent people up for execution. People were generally confused as to who these people were and why we wanted them dead and they weren't sure if they could trust us yet to have made the right decision. I'm sure anyone who has had any kind of contact with snitches ~~and~~ informers, infiltrators and provocateurs understood the danger that these 3 people represented to the revolutionary forces. ~~But many people don't understand that because we are in a struggle to survive.~~ ~~It is~~ We could have eliminated some of this backlash if we had issued an explicit warning against those ^{all} who cooperate with the pigs stating that the penalty for such as stated in our Codes of War is death. ~~This would have~~ ~~at the~~ We ~~would not~~ did not have to ~~make~~ issue names through our communiques. Instead we could have ^{spread} their ~~identities~~ ~~through our contacts~~ by word of mouth thru our contacts in the communities of the Bay Area. Basically we have learned that we can't expect the bourgeois media to serve as our communication link w/ the people. They will attempt to distort our message and destroy the ~~trust~~ of people's faith in us. We have never backed off from the correctness of our actions. ~~to be executed.~~

of people's faith in us. We have never backed off from the correctness of our position — that police informants ^{agents} must be executed. ~~Don't make~~ and we will not hesitate when we come in contact with ~~people~~ collaborators. ^{The fact has proven that} ~~the~~ ~~proven~~ informants will never show ^{any} mercy and will do ^{us} much harm if they are allowed to ~~go~~ live.

Death Warrants

above ground on a regular or serious level. And the sad fact is that most of the above ground "politicians" denounced the Weatherpeople as "adventurists".

The main things to understand are that the effect of the anti-war movement was truly a people's victory. The big victory was that of the Vietnamese people who accomplished what some thought was impossible. And to truly understand the effect of the anti-war movement on the successes of people's war in Vietnam we must give a lot of credit to the work of anti-war GIs. It may not be clear to a lot of the veterans of the student movement, but the GIs started to come home when it began to become clear to the pentagon that it was getting increasingly more difficult to force young Americans to give their lives for some greedy capitalist or fascist dictator.

The demonstrations around the invasion of Cambodia were the peak of the mass student participation in the anti-war struggle. It was increasingly demoralizing after that. I think a lot of us began to understand that there just wasn't a whole lot that you could do in the university, that if we were going to effect change in this society we were therefore going to have to connect up somehow with the people in the community. We students were a minority and the issues we rallied around on the campuses oftentimes didn't reflect the over all situation in the whole society. A lot of the people in the community that surrounded the university that Yolanda, KKKKKKKKK Gelina, and I went to saw the student population as their direct enemy. * (next page insert) Of course a lot of this feeling was due to ruling class divisive propaganda, but the reality

to continue the fight. Particularly the BLA has been all but ignored in the media, as well as ^{the} revolutionary comrades in prison. To create a personality cult around Black revolutionaries in this country might be a little too serious and lacking in the freak, circus atmosphere that the media aroused around the SLA. It might speak a little too realistically of the coming of the revolution.

Intro Yolanda -- There is a very racist element to the personality cult. The media has not done this to any great extent with other revolutionary people who have had as great an importance or greater importance in moving the struggle forward -- in destroying the enemy and mobilizing people

Intro Teko -- Ruchell Magee pointed out something that we took very seriously. He said it was fine to make war on the enemy but you don't have to tell him who you are. You want to fight, sure, but you want to ^{live} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ long enough to get your enemy, and that's what's important to us. We don't intend to ~~XXX~~ continue any personality cults on any level. The people may never hear from us directly again, but they should always feel confident that we are out there fighting with other loyal and courageous comrades.

Black, Chicano Puerto Rican brothers. They're forced into the military either by conscription, in other words the draft, or by economic conditions. Right now, ^{with} this thing around the volunteer army, you find a lot of poor brothers being forced to go into the armed forces because of the money they're being offered. And when you look at how much money they're being offered you can imagine how fucked up the situation is on the outside for people getting jobs. We don't see that in the course of any kind of armed conflict when we come in contact with the United States military that we're going to give them special treatment just because we might be

business and while they were ~~XXXXXX~~ turned to one of them and said, "did you see the pictures?" Our comrade said, "What pictures?" and the woman replied, "The pictures of the kidnapers. They were horrible. I'd rather be dead. That poor girl." To some people ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{it was} ~~XXXXXX~~ who had done this kidnapping that was so horrible not the kidnapping itself or the fact that someone was a victim of a kidnapping.

Q. So you were hit in the face with a machine gun, tied up and dragged half naked out of the building. What happened then.

A. Then I was put in the trunk of a car. It took me a minute to realize that I shouldn't just be lying in the trunk of

~~about then~~ ^{then} do to ensure ~~that~~ survival ~~the~~ carrot
liberal. ^{guerrillas}

We embrace the principles of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought because of historically and materially proven practice throughout the international proletarian revolution.. For guidance we turn to the teaching of Comrade George Jackson, Che, Fan Cabral, Malcolm, Marighela, Fidel and the practice of the entire Vietnamese people. Our intention is to learn all we can from the theory and practice of the world's revolutionary heroes and leaders and apply this knowledge to the concrete conditions of amerikkkan society. The underground speaks directly to the point:

"Revolutions are uneven. They develop from concrete conditions. Like people, like nations, they are each unique and yet share common qualities. They will not follow according to expectations; they are forged in grinding suffering and resistance."

from the local peoples perspective was that students cared more about getting drugged up and "causing trouble" than ending oppression. They also felt that ^{the "rich kid"} students were responsible for the high rent that the community had to pay to the greedy slum lords, or that students with part time jobs were taking away their jobs or helping their bosses keep oppressive ceilings on their wages because the students worked for less. The so-called youth culture with its anarchistic emphasis on individuality really played into the hands of the pigs and made the division of progressive forces and their ~~XX~~ most potential allies a crippling reality. The "youth culture" was not a totally negative stage, many of us graduated from it and continued to progress. Bourgeois individuality is still one of our main enemies, however; and many aspects of the student experience have reinforced this sickness to the point of terminal illness.

*(previous page) About two-thirds of the people in Bloomington were very poor, that's out of about 35,000 people not connected with the university. That the students could be thought of by the local people as their ~~XXXX~~ enemy is to my way of thinking a result of the movement's failure to deal with a practical revolutionary reality. The student/^{movement} supposedly had its roots in ~~XXX~~ at least the intellectual capacity to understand objective reality. ^{In Bloomington} ~~there were~~ many "comrades" didn't understand that the "future administrators of ameriKKKa" weren't the only people fucked over by the war in Vietnam. It wasn't just young people, young men, having a potential of being drafted that was the problem. The problem was that the majority of the people in the country were being forced

3. Why did the SLA ^{decide to} issue death warrants ^{against} people?

7. We issued the death warrants because we had conclusive evidence that these three were ~~talking to~~ offering ~~the pigs~~ informing on the guerrillas by ~~talking~~ information to the pigs. All guerrilla forces must deal harshly with those individuals who willingly and knowingly ^{cooperate w/ the pigs} pass on information ~~to the pigs~~ that threatens the survival of the ~~people~~ ^{guerrillas} ~~people~~ ^{for informing}. Traditionally ^{in the past guerrilla warfare} police informants ~~have~~ ^{have} been executed death.

We had a long discussion about this ^{mean death for} move because ^{we are not casual about issuing orders that} we realized how serious it was. We ^{value life very highly and we are not casual about issuing orders that} decided ^{it was necessary to} to issue the death warrants ~~as a~~ ^{as a} warning to all people who might be tempted to cooperate with the enemy in the future and to make publically known to other comrades that these 3 were dangerous security risks. We ~~never~~ ^{did not} intend to execute these people ourselves because we were right in the middle of planning our bank operation and our move to L.A. ~~One thing we weren't sure of~~

~~was what the reaction of other progressive people would be.~~ ~~And we underestimated the ability of the ruling class media to use our own propaganda against us by confusing the people.~~

^{Two of the} The media interviewed ~~the~~ ^{the} pig informers, Chris Thompson and Colston Westbrook and ^{did biographical essays on Chris, Robyn, and} made a big deal of how ~~they~~ ^{all} they were such ~~wonderful~~ ^{good}, mild mannered ^{innocent} people whose lives were now threatened by a bunch of crazies. Of course they ³ were never questioned about why ~~we~~ ^{the SLA} might have issued the warrants agst them. The SLA ~~should have~~ ^{should have} expected this but we

stations were illegally bugged and that their offices were under regular surveillance. The SIA realized that if we wanted to assure that our communiques got to the people we were going to have to use our imaginations to come up with delivery methods that would catch the pigs off guard.

One thing we really dug seeing was the way various collectives of people throughout the country reproduced our communiques and those of other groups and then distributed them by hand in the communities at meetings, stores, door-to-door, get-togethers, etc.

The papers put out by sectarian organizations characteristically didn't deal with actions by the SIA in a principled way. Mostly they avoided any form of struggle by ignoring the SIA as if the events surrounding the Foster assassination and the kidnapping were of such little significance that they didn't even deserve constructive criticism. Other papers opportunistically denounced the SIA wholesalely because we were seen as a threat to their dogmatic blueprint approach to revolution.

The alternative media forms that exist now are just the barest beginning of a people's communication network. We need national and international methods of media communication as well as grassroots and local community forms. Strong people's newspapers, radio, guerrilla theater and film groups, and research collectives bring us all closer together and represent the growth of a people's culture.

From among the more than
20,000 people questioned by
the feds

Many other anonymous sisters and brothers have stood by their fifth amendment rights and have refused to answer any questions by the FBI or to testify before the Grand Jury. We send all these comrades our love and respect.

Q. How did the SIA view the role of the non-establishment media in dealing with the ideas and actions of the SIA?

A. Various radio stations, people's newspapers and media groups have helped to make our propaganda available to the people. Some did it for opportunist reasons to hype their paper or make a name for themselves out of all the notoriety surrounding the SIA. But many were sincere and understood the crucial role of people's media in building the armed struggle. Propaganda is a tool to mobilize and unite people, to strengthen their forms of resistance thru feedback and to counteract the lies of the ruling class media. Media that supports armed struggle and helps revolutionaries get their word out to the people plays a very courageous role because repressive ruling class forces make it the target of constant threats and harassment.

Some more or less capitalist owned radio stations were thrown into the position of experiencing the extent of government repression when they found themselves the recipients of our communiques. To deliver one communique, we telephoned both KSAN and KDIA saying where the communique could be found. Before the radio stations could get one of their people there to pick it up, the feds had already snatched it. It wasn't until someone from the station went back for a second time that they mysteriously found the communique right where we said it would be. This kind of sabotage by the FBI was proof that these

time while they attempt to create fear and lack of confidence in
 the ability of the guerrilla fighters to succeed. However, like
 anything else, the media has its inconsistencies and it has also
 on rare occasions reported the bungled work and the fascist scare
 tactics employed by law enforcement, so that if people read be-
 tween the lines it becomes clear that the pigs don't know how to
 deal with revolutionaries who have support from the people. The
 pigs' impotence has exposed them for what they are -- they have
 harassed, intimidated, busted in on and imprisoned innocent people
 to the point where most conscious sisters and brothers see that
 it is in their interest not to cooperate. Most of the information
 that the pigs have on any of us has not been obtained through a
 careless trail of clues left by the CIA or through careful investi-
 gation by the feds, but rather through the Grand Jury testimony of
 police agents like Chris Thompson and the cooperation of several
 naive and misled people. The pigs convince some individuals to
 cooperate on the basis of the lie that they don't know anything
 more than what the pigs already know. So these people talk
 because they feel it won't do any harm. In fact the pigs have
 nothing at all and this unwitting testimony may give the state their
 case. But many people aren't mystified by the pigs any longer.
 They realize that you can't play the pigs' game and expect to win
 at it. When you do play, you essentially do the pigs' work no
 matter what the reasons or justifications. One Sister,
 Garvey, ~~has~~ taken a strong stand in refusing to testify before
 the Grand Jury and is still ~~has been~~ in jail for contempt. (Others

like Bill Altam and Jack and Dick Scott have utilized the
 publicity surrounding their refusal to cooperate to to expose the true
 nature of our corrupt government and its pig agents.

~~of course~~

The media also operated as an arm of law enforcement by building a myth around the FBI, the SFPD and the L.A.D. They consistently cooperated with the pigs in reporting false evidence and clues to create the image that the feds were such super-sleuths that they were right on our tail. They're still trying to come off like super-pigs with Charlie Bates saying he'll have us within the year. It's ironic that just about a year ago he said he'd have us within a matter of days. At one point in San Francisco, the media came out with the story that the FBI had agents posing as postmen and garbage men, who were closing in on the whereabouts of the SLA. ~~=====~~ If you believed them at their word, you would almost wonder how anyone could have been being up against such expertise -- the myth that "they always get

their man." But while the pigs tried to intimidate the whole city with lies about their massive hunt for the SLA, we were living on Golden Gate only about eight blocks from the FBI headquarters and were moving freely around the city in disguise. The media has kept up a constant barrage of sightings ever since we disappeared in LA over a year ago.

The latest show of piggery has been aimed at Jack and Nicki Scott, Louise and John Scott, Phil Shinnick, Bill Milton and Jay Weiner. The pigs through the media have outdone themselves in shouting lies and building an elaborate fabrication into a frame-up involving the harassment of many innocent people. The

pigs put out this kind of propaganda in the media as a ploy to try and pressure the guerrillas out into the open and isolate them from their support among the people. The pigs fuck with people's heads by trying to build up a false myth about our strength and power-

We've been able to ~~control~~ ^{deal with} alot of the ruling class propaganda because of our access to the Hearst media while Tania was still a prisoner. But the personality cult that was created around each of us, especially Tania and Cin, is the hardest to ~~act~~ ^{Counter-} ~~act~~. When we come in contact with other brothers and sisters for the first time, they usually have expectations that we're unreal and somehow different from them. They think we'll act a little bit crazy or like robots -- the old commie stereotype. Ironically the SLA helped to reinforce the personality cult because at times we counteracted media propaganda by creating a personality cult of our own. But our position now is to eliminate the myth of the SLA and the personality cult around its members as a way of emphasizing that revolutions are made by ordinary people who see that they are being fucked over and understand that they have it in their power to change their lives. Part of the purpose of this book is to take advantage of the media's "myth of Patty Hearst" so that revolutionary ideas, tactics and strategies can reach the people on a wider scale. We each wrote about our backgrounds and our past lives to demystify the changes we went through and to give people who read it a sense of the potential in themselves. We feel that if the personality cult continues in the future it will only get in the way of successful struggle and it will only help the pigs in their attempts to find us. We're three ~~people~~ ^{people} among many who are creating a revolution in this country. Three people alone are insignificant in the struggle for freedom because its the masses of people together who will make the fight successful. The people may never hear from the

three of us directly again, but they should always feel confident that we are out here fighting with other committed and courageous

psyche that places little value on human life. The Palestinian freedom fighter who uses any means necessary to seize back land stolen by Zionists is characterized as a blood thirsty killer of innocent victims. And of course the perpetrators of this same bourgeois propanganda are the ones who indiscriminately bomb and napalm the villages of Vietnam and the Palestinian refugee camps, killing thousands of innocent civilians.

We have seen that the people place more faith in what they see happening than in the words they read or hear in the media. So the SLA takes an action-oriented position realizing that we can't rely on the pig media to communicate with the people. Our actions must either speak for themselves or we must explore alternative methods of speaking to the people directly. The time will come in this country when the ruling class will exclude all news of revolutionary resistance from its media. At that point revolutionaries will have to use their own methods of communication. Already in this country the ruling class has tried to deny the existence of the Black Liberation Army through media censorship. The BLA has administered revolutionary justice to over 15 pigs in New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans, but the national news media refused to put out information on these actions. Then the media played up the murder and imprisonment of alleged BLA members, claiming that the back of the BLA had been broken. The media is used to keep the people ignorant of what's happening, to demoralize them and to maintain a feeling of helpless apathy and disunity. The media has consistently reported the demise of the anti-war movement, the Black liberation movement and the SLA, but like we said before, actions speak and word of revolutionary victories have a way of getting passed on that defies all pig attempts to suppress it.

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- a) Govt spending, esp. military increased, thus raising the total demand for goods and services
- b) Tax cuts in '62 & '64
- c) Interest rates on long-term loans kept low

B. The War Overheats the Economy

1. Unpopularity of War

usually done to increase popular support

- a. Couldn't increase taxes
- b. Couldn't cut back non-military programs

c. Govt had to rely on expansion of deficit spending

1) Usually this stimulates economy if there's high unemployment (creates more jobs)

2) Now unemployment in 1966 - led to inflation

d. Unemployment in 1965 was 4.0%

C. Inflation, Employment and the Role of the Government

- a) 1966-1969 was the only 4-year span since WWII in which unemployment remained below 4% & so labor had bargaining power

- b) During the late 60's, the share of national income going to labor rose and the share going to corporate profits fell
- c) Workers' average real take home pay has remained roughly constant since 1965
- 1) Increases in money wages quickly eroded by inflation and rising taxes
- d) From 1965-69, real value of corporate profits declined by 44%

D. The Limitations of the Ford's Option

1. Tried to solve problems in the traditional manner
- a) Causing a contraction of demand by eliminating govt deficit

① Raising taxes or lowering govt spending

b) Raising interest rates

c) Actions designed to

① Curtail economic activity

② Raise unemployment

③ Thus, slow down wage increase

d) Business would stop raising prices & inflation would slow down

① Lessened wage pressures

② Reducing business spending

- b. Facilitates unified control of world industry under U.S.
- c. Which aspect, in the long run, will prove most important is unknown yet

G. Short-Run Capital Flows - Precipitating the Crisis

1. Created balance of payments difficulties - began to appear in 1966 and more serious in 1967-69
2. Short-term investments were facilitated in 66 by rising U.S. interest rates and economic difficulties in Europe
3. 1970, severity of inflation forced govt to lower interest rates to stimulate investment in productivity
4. Short-term capital didn't invest in U.S. production
 - a) Fled to ^{now} more stable Europe
5. 1969 - short-term capital inflow 9.6 billion
1970 - 5.8 billion outflow
unprecedented change 15 billion in one year
6. 1971 - balance of payment deficit running at an annual rate of over 10 billion
7. The importance of short-term capital flows
 - a. Increasing internationalization

3. 1960-65, U.S. spending abroad on costs of empire averaged 5.5 billion a year

4. 1966-71, major spending on Vietnam War raised costs to 6.9 billion a year

a) spending greater than these figures suggest

b) decrease held down to 1.4 billion a year only through cutbacks in aid and military programs in rest of the world

7. Long-run Investments & Profits

1. Foreign investment created outflow is offset by the foreign profits on previous investment returning to the U.S.

2. The total of foreign investment plus profits on past foreign investment has been positive in U.S. balance of payments for more than a decade

3. Direct foreign investment carried on by multi-nationals - 2 Contradictory Aspects

a. Foreign investment by U.S. Corps can facilitate foreign competition and, thus, lead to a long-run decline in U.S. trade balance

Waged labor coupled with their advanced technology

c) However, competition gradual not qualitative

d) U.S. in 60-64 had a trade surplus of 2 billion (mostly 1 billion from aid-financed exports (not related to internal competitiveness))

2) One billion genuine increase in private market trade

e) 1964-68, U.S. went from a "net" trade surplus (trade balance excluding aid-financed exports) of 4 billion to a "net" deficit of 1 billion - drop of 5 billion in 4 years

f) This fast caused by differences in the rate of inflation

1) 1964-68, US export prices rose 10%

2) Average for all industrial countries rose only 3%

E. Costs of Empire

1. U.S. has to arranged long run programs to maintain "smooth functioning" of internal situation to ensure safety of investments & multinational

2. Must aid friendly, weak govts to keep them favoring capitalism

former enemies

- b) U.S. expansion dependent on revitalization of world trade and reopening of opportunities for foreign investment
- 4) U.S. dominance preserved, to some extent, longer by:
 - a) International system of finance favored U.S. interests
 - b) U.S. military might unassailable
 - c) Rise of socialism forced a certain solidarity among capitalists

C. Heresies of the Current Crisis

- 1) Result of Vietnam war more than growing predominance of Japan and European competition

D. Trade and Wages

- 1) U.S. in 20th Century has always had a trade surplus (exports exceeded imports) until 1971
- 2) U.S. could compete with lower wages in other countries because its sophisticated industry could produce more
 - a) High wages of U.S. could become a fetter only if other countries could compete
 - b) U.S. multinationals were able to utilize low-

3. Marshall Plan - created U.S. power in Europe

- a) Suppression of rebellion in Greece
- b) Maintenance of U.S. military presence in Germany

4. Key factor in new monetary arrangements

a) 1944 Bretton Woods Conference

① Dollar became, along with gold, the basis of international transactions

② Developed capitalist nations agreed to a fixed exchange rate between their currency and the dollar

③ U.S. agreed to maintain a fixed value of the dollar in gold - 35.00 an ounce

④ System caused the accumulation of dollar reserves around the world - U.S. could spend more than it had

B. Reconstruction & Competition

1) U.S. powerful after war temporarily because other countries ravaged by war

2) U.S. industry stimulated by war

3) U.S. impelled to hasten decline of its power

a) Military and strategic imperatives of cold war required U.S. to build up allies as well as

e. Inflation didn't slow down

- ① Unemployment raised, thus 70-71 recession
- ② Employers and works were inured to inflation, expected more, and continued in their old patterns.
- ③ Decline in demand didn't lower prices because monopolistic elements in U.S. can resist pressure and maintain their prices

f. Nixon, in 71, could wait for inflation to subside of itself

- ① Upcoming elections
- ② Couldn't forestall internatl monetary crisis

II. Origins of the International Crisis

A. Since 2 wars, U.S. unchallenged, leading power among capitalist nations

1. Undisputed dominance overseas increased in late 40's & early 50's
2. Military as well as economic expansion
 - a) U.S. had to pay for colonial conflicts, i.e. Indochina

5. The new controls will remain a recurrent, if not quite permanent feature of U. S. govt.

6. Will the new policies work?

1. From 1971-72, inflation decrease to a level of 1965

2. Stimulated growth of output

3. Failed to reduce unemployment

4. G.N.P. rose

5. Increased govt. deficit

1970 - 13.6 billion

1971 - 23.8 billion

U. S. economy is still dependent on large injections of govt. spending in order to grow

6. From point of view of business failure to reduce unemployment is not a loss - full employment creates labor bargaining power.

7. Effective controls on inflation can increase competitiveness of U. S. goods on the world market, thereby increasing the U. S. trade surplus

8. Will the U. S. be able to establish a new set of stable political and economic relations to replace the earlier arrangements from the period of unchallenged U. S. hegemony?

a. Has made compromises

1. Direct Price Controls
2. Phase II permits gradual wage & price increases while govt maintains the existence of controls established during the freeze
3. Program had to hold down everything but profits
 - a. Output of workers increases but not wages or prices, thus productivity & sales revenues increase
4. Some liberals asked for a "profits" freeze but, under Capitalism, this is impossible

B. The Meaning of Direct Intervention

1. U.S. govt has always shied away from this
2. Business considers this temporary
3. Political limitations: the stronger the opposition facing the U.S. govt at home and abroad, the greater need for direct controls on the economy
4. The onset of the present crisis marks the end of U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world

2. Short-term forces affect timing of crisis
- * 3. Key to long-term balance of payment crisis
- a. War-related inflation
 - b. Rising costs of empire during the Vietnam war
 - c. These explain abrupt reversal in U.S. balance of payments in mid-'60's
4. War & inflation are fundamental and recurrent features of present world Capitalist system
5. Contradictions of post WWII U.S.
- a. Through aid, trade, & investment, U.S. was compelled to rebuild its ~~economic~~ economic rivals in Europe & Japan, thus undermining U.S. world trade predominance
 - b. U.S. compelled to play a counterrevolutionary role through out the Third World
 - 1) Entails substantial economic strains in U.S.
 - 2) Can precipitate domestic opposition

III. Nipon's ~~trade~~ Program and where it is leading

- a. Govt must achieve expansion without inflation

of capital markets will from now on force all major capitalist countries to maintain near-identical interest rates - i.e. lowered rates will precipitate outflows

- ① Can't use lowering rates to stabilize domestic economy
- ② Limits ability of govt to counter inflation or recession
- b. Use made of international markets by multi-nationals leads to less money backup in corporations' treasuries

7. Balance of Payments - A Summary

1. forces affecting balance move at different speeds
 - a. short-term investment fluctuations are quickest & most dramatic - can reverse direction in a year or less
 - b. War & inflation - slower, can be observed over 4-6 year periods
 - c. Changes in foreign competition and in returning foreign profits - gradual, provide a background for fast and medium-paced processes

4) strengthens the position of the combined enterprises compared with that of 'pure' enterprises, it increases their competitive power in periods of serious depression when the fall in prices of raw materials does not keep pace with the fall in prices of manufactured articles

Principal stages in the history of monopolies (Europe)

- A. 1860-70: the highest stage, the apex of development of full competition; monopoly is in the early discernible, embryonic stage
- B. After the crisis of 1873, a wide zone of development of cartels; but they are still the exception. They are not yet durable. They are still a transitory phenomenon.
- C. The boom at the end of the nineteenth century and the crisis of 1900-03. Cartels become one of the foundations of the whole economic life. Capitalism has been transformed into imperialism.

Cartels

1. Come to agreement on the conditions of sale, terms of payment, etc

Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism

± Concentration of Production and Monopolies

- One of the most characteristic features of Capitalism: enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises

Concentration = Monopoly

Combine: the grouping in single enterprise of different branches of industry, which either represent the consecutive stages in the working up of raw materials or are auxiliary to one another

Hilferding 1) levels out the fluctuations of trade and therefore assures to the combined enterprises a more stable rate of profit
2) effect of eliminating trading
3) effect of rendering possible technical improvements and, consequently, the acquisition of super-profits over and above those obtained by the 'pure', i.e., 'non-combined' enterprises

over control

2. Three possible outcomes of direct price controls in traditional union practices:

a. Wage controls could change wage disputes with employers into direct confrontation with Govt

1) Unlikely, because unions not radical enough, action-wise to lead them

b. With wage demands coopted, struggles may become more localized around the workplace and around control

c. Wage demands could be coopted into bureaucratic legal disputes

d. Will labor move toward radicalism or bureaucratization depends largely on organizing

- f. Rising industrial competition from Japan and Europe
- g. Developing shift in the balance of military power - led to a share in costs of "free world defense")
- d. U. S. still dominant
- e. International capital will probably prevail over nationalist elements

IV. The Economy and the American Left

- A. War had brought on the international crisis
 - 1. Through inflation
 - 2. Through direct war spending
 - 3. Struggle of Vietnamese
 - 4. Anti-war struggle in U.S.
- B. National Chauvinism
 - 1. Waning force of anti-Communism causes resurgence of populism and Chauvinism
 - 2. With integration of capitalist economies, workers can see their jobs going to foreigners
 - 3. Left must not take opportunistic steps in regard to this

- C. Organized Labor and the Left
 - 1. Workers tend to organize around isolated wage struggles
 - a. Fragmenting among workers
 - b. Divert workers from struggles

made way for the domination of finance Capital

III Finance Capital and Financial Oligarchy

Finance Capital : bank capital, i.e. capital in money form which (by bankers' investments in industry) is thus really transformed into industrial capital. Finance Capital is capital controlled by the banks and employed by the industrialists. There is an increase of concentration of production and of capital to such an extent that it leads, and has led, to monopoly.

Finance Oligarchy :

- 1) Domination of capitalist monopolies
- 2) Corner-Store : "holding system" Heymann "The executive director controls the parent company; the latter reigns over the subsidiary companies which similarly control still other subsidiaries - thus, it is possible with a comparatively small capital to dominate immense spheres of production"

Capitalist society. They can, by means of their banking connections, by running current accounts and transacting other financial operations,

- 1) Ascertain exactly the position of the various capitalists
- 2) Control them, influence them by restricting or enlarging, facilitating or hindering their credits
- 3) Entirely determine their fate, determine their income, deprive them of capital, or, on the other hand, permit them to increase their capital rapidly, and to enormous proportions, etc.

Stock exchange - regulatory
Capital, passing away

* The "second union" between banks and industry is completed by the "personal union" between both and state

The beginning of the twentieth century marks the turning point at which the old capitalism gave way to the new, at which the domination of capital in general

2. Divide the markets among themselves
3. Fix the quantity of goods to be produced
4. Fix prices
5. Divide profits among the various enterprises, etc.

Monopoly: immense progress in the socialization of labor; in particular, the process of technical invention and improvement becomes specialized; Domination & Violence.

II. The Banks and their new Role

The principal & primary function of banks is to serve as an intermediary in the making of payments transform inactive money Capital into active capital

Banks transformed into monopolies have all the money

Big banks affiliate smaller banks and, thus, have their capital at their disposal

Monopoly banks can control all operations both Commercial and Industrial, of

VIII

The Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism

A Capitalist monopolies periodically undergoes periods of stagnation and decay

B. Parasitism: receiving revenue without being directly involved in any way with earning it

1) Essence of imperialist parasitism - The revenue of the bondholders is five times greater than the revenue obtained from the foreign trade of the greatest trading country in the world

2) World
a) Money-lending states
b) debtor states

3) The rentier state is a state of parasitic, decaying capitalism

Hobson says: 4) 2 Causes which weakened older empires

a) Economic parasitism
b) the formation of armies composed of subject races

- 5) Imperialism fosters opportunism in labor
- 6) Decline in emigration from imperialist countries, and the increase in immigration to those countries from the backward countries when low wages are paid

Causes and Effects of opportunism in labor movement (in 19th Cent. Britain)

Causes: 1) Exploitation of the whole world by this country
2) Its monopolistic position in the world market
3) Its colonial monopoly

Effects: 1) A section of the British proletariat becomes bourgeois
2) A section of the proletariat permits itself to be led by people who are bought by the bourgeoisie or, at least, who are in their pay

IX The Critique of Imperialism

- 2) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy
- 3) The export of capital, which has become extremely important, as distinguished from the export of commodities
- 4) The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves
- 5) The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers is completed
- 6) Two historically concrete ~~characteristic~~ features of modern imperialism
 - a) the competition between several imperialism
 - b) the predominance of the financier over the merchant

(Division of the world into 2
principal groups
a) Colony-slaving countries
b) Colonies)

- 1) Semi-Colony: politically
independent but economically
dependent.
- 2) Protectorate: small country,
militarily protected by
large country, gives
commercial advantages
in return.

VIII

Imperialism as a special
stage of Capitalism

A. Capitalism becomes Capitalist imperialism
only when certain of its funda-
mental attributes began to be
transformed into their opposites.

- 1) Substitution of Capitalist monopolies
for capitalist free competition
a) Cartels, syndicates, trusts } merge
b) Banks

B. Imperialism: Monopoly stage
of Capitalism

- 1) The concentration of production
and capital developed to
such a stage that it creates
monopolies which play a
decisive role in economic
life

VI The Division of the World Among the Great Powers

The period in the 19th century when free enterprise (prior to monopoly capitalism) was predominant coincided with the boom in colonial annexations (1860-80's)

Hobson: 1884-1900 - period of the intensification of the colonial "expansion" of the chief European states

The principal feature of modern capitalism is the domination of the monopolist combines of the big capitalists

Raw materials depleted

- 1) Finance Capital is not only interested in the already known source of raw materials
- 2) Also interested in the possible sources

Transitional forms of national independence for colonies

- 4) Wages low
- 5) Raw materials cheap
- D. Demands made in return for issuing loan
 - 1) loaned money (some of) must be spent in loaning country encourages the export of commodities
- E. Bank branches founded in colonized countries

II. The Division of the World Among Capitalist Combines

International cartels

- a. show to what point Capitalist monopolies have developed
- b. They reveal the object of the struggle between the various Capitalist groups
 - 1) Forms of the struggle vary
 - 2) Essence, its class content cannot change while classes exist
- c. Certain relations are established between Capitalist alliances based on the economic partition of the world

Generally speaking, under Capitalism, the ownership of capital is separate from industrial or productive capital; the rentier, living entirely on income obtained from money capital, is separated from the entrepreneur and from all those directly concerned in the management of capital. Imperialism, or the rule of finance capital, is that highest stage of Capitalism in which this separation reaches vast proportions.

IV The Export of Capital

- A. Special feature of Capitalism
 - 1) Flow of external exchange
 - 2) International exchange
- B. Superfluity of capital in large nations
 - 1) Overdevelopment of industry
 - 2) Wretched condition of the masses
- C. Invest in underdeveloped countries rather than clean things up at home. In foreign countries
 - 1) Profits high
 - 2) Investment Capital scarce
 - 3) Price of land relatively low

- c. Inter-imperialist alliances, because of constant status changes of capitalist countries, are nothing more than "truce" periods between wars
- d. Kautsky doesn't show vital connections between periods of imperialistic peace and period of imperialist war

D. David Jayne Hill - History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe

i. Periods of contemporary diplomatic history

a. The revolutionary period

b. Constitutional movement

1900-10 c. Present period of commercial imperialism

2. Another writer divides history of Great Britain's foreign policy since 1870 into four periods

a. First, Asiatic period: that of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

b. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

c. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

d. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

e. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

f. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

g. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

h. The period of the struggle against France for the partition of Africa

(the Fashoda incident of 1898 which brought France within hair's breadth of war with Great Britain)

That of the struggle against Russia's advance in Central Asia towards India. The African period (approx 1885-1902)

- c. The second Asiatic period.
(alliance with Japan against Russia)
- d. The European, chiefly anti-German
- E. Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies introduced. the struggle for domination
 - 2. Extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in the political domain
 - 3. Epoch of national oppression & the struggle for annexations become acute
 - a. In newly acquired countries
 - v. Also in old

X. The Place of Imperialism in History

- A. Economic quintessence of imperialism is monopoly Capitalism
 - 1. Transition stage from Capitalism to a higher economic order
 - 2. Four principal forms of Monopoly capital
 - a. Monopoly capitalist combines: Cartels, Syndicates & Trusts

- g. Birth of Monopoly out of the Concentration of Production
- h. Monopolies control raw materials industries, esp. coal and iron
- i. Monopoly has sprung from the banks
 - 1) Banks developed from modest intermediaries to monopolists of financial capital
 - 2) Some of the biggest banks have achieved the personal union of industrial and bank capital
 - 3) Financial oligarchy
- a. Monopoly has grown out of colonial policy
 - 1) Intense struggle for markets and repartition of the world
2. Imperialism: Parasitism on decaying Capitalism
 - a. Creation of "bondholding" (rentier) state (parasite state) in which the bourgeoisie lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons"
 - b. Capitalism growing more rapidly but also more unevenly
 - c. Bond between imperialism and opportunism

This "critique" means the attitude towards imperialist policy of the different classes of society as part of their general ideology

I. Possessing classes 100% behind imperialism

A. Imperialist ideology permeates the working class

B. "Reform" of imperialism is a deception

1. Rise of petty-bourgeois opposition to monopolistic character of imperialism

2. Imperialism & Capitalistic system inseparably tied

3. Left-wing - bourgeois reformist

a. Former Marxist

b. Supported free competition

4. Monopolies come into being - out of free competition

5. Increase in exports closely connected with the swelling banks of finance capital

a. Capital pockets the profits from the loan

b. Pockets other profits from the same loan, which the borrower uses to make purchases from the monopolies

- C. Ground and radical
Contradictions of imperialism
1. Between monopoly and
free competition that exists
side by side with it
 2. Between gigantic "operations"
(and gigantic profits) of
finance capital and honest
trade on the free market
 3. Contradictions between combines
and trusts, on one hand,
and non-trustified industry
on the other
 4. Ultra-imperialism - Kautsky
Inter-imperialism - Hilson
Peaceful alliances between
economic giants in
economic and colonial
spheres - Internationally
united finance capital
 - a. Kautsky assumes
such alliances would
eliminate friction
 - b. Friction would continue
because in the world,
the status of each
capitalist country changes
constantly for better or
worse

77- ^{ix 15} When we adopt the partisan
standpoint of historically the
most progressive class that
we are able to get nearer the
truth.

Aristotle \rightarrow slave society, Aquinas \rightarrow feudal society

Capitalism \rightarrow left no other ripens

between man & man than
naked self-interest, than

callous cash payment

Bourgeoisie sees society as
consisting of independent atoms,
each complete in itself,

concerned only with itself
and all interacting

working class needs to abolish
class society - this philosophy
looks to all things only as
they are, in their manifold
changes and interconnections,
without disguises and fantasy

Materialism opposed to Idealism

IDEALISM: way of interpreting things which regards the spiritual as prior to the material; supposes that everything material is dependent on and determined by something spiritual, inseparable from superstition.

MATERIALISM: things material come before spiritual; recognizes that everything spiritual is dependent on and determined by something material; seeks for explanations in terms of factors which we can verify, understand & control.

All religion and all idealism has at its heart this kind of doubting of the world - dualistic and invents a dominating ideal or supernatural world over

9-26-74 "On Contradiction" Mao

unity of opposites - basic law of materialist dialectics

A. 2 Opposing World Outlooks
1) Metaphysical - repetition
2) Dialectical

1) Regards things as eternally isolated from one another and immutable.

- motive force external

- changes increase or decrease in quantity

17th & 18th Cents - mechanical materialism

19th & 20th Cents - vulgar evolutionism

2) "Contradiction within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interconnections with other things are secondary causes."

- explains why things differ qualitatively in thousands of ways and why one thing changes into another

- "external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change."

- external causes become operative through internal causes

Hegel - 18th & 19th cent. made contributions
to dialectics but his dialectics
were idealist

B. The Universality of Contradiction

1. Two meanings

- Contradiction exists in the
process of development of all things
- In the process of development of
each thing, a movement of
opposites exists from beginning
to end

C. The Particularity of Contradiction

1) The contradiction in each form
of motion of matter has its
particularity

2) Two processes of cognition:

means
in cognition

- from the general to the
particular
- the particular to the general

3) Use different methods to
solve different contradictions
based on the particular
existence of each contradiction

4) Look at problems objectively

5) Shun Subjectivity

"Know the enemy and know
yourself and you can fight a
hundred battles with no danger"

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T 5

Maurice Cornforth: Materialism and the Dialectical Method

Materialism

dialectical materialism - revolutionary

- working-class philosophy
- (world outlook)

- systematising beliefs reinforces them
- philosophies express general world views of particular classes since the world has been divided into classes for its philosophical period i.e. →
- philosophical systems express a class outlook (or ideology of definite classes)
- in past philosophers expressed the outlook of the "educated," exploiting classes
- Marx & Engels developed philosophy Lenin showed that the party must act as the vanguard of its class, the most conscious section of its class, and that it is the instrument for winning and wielding political power

Stob. Lenin

The Comintern was organized to fulfill the historic role of carrying into effect the dictatorship of the proletariat, wrote Lenin.

"The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation for the international organization of the workers for the preparation of a revolutionary attack upon Capital."

"The Second International (1889-1914) was the international organization of the proletarian movement whose growth was extensive rather than intensive, and therefore resulted in a drop in the revolutionary level and in a temporary increase of opportunistic tendencies, which finally led to the shameful downfall of this international..."

"The Third International took over the work of the Second International, put out of its opportunistic, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois rubbish, and began to carry into effect the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Read "On-Contradiction"

Development : process where stage
by stage something new
keeps emerging, qualitatively
better

Growth : means getting bigger -
quantitative change

The Law of Transformation of Quantitative
into Qualitative Changes

quantitative change, increase or
decrease, cannot go on indefinite.
then comes a point ("nodal point" - Hegel)
when qualitative changes takes
place relatively suddenly, by a leap

revolution : radical transformation

Dialectics of Development : unity and struggle
of opposites

Engels - Socialism, Utopian and Scientific

basic contradiction of capitalism is not simply the conflict of two classes which confront one another as two external forces which come into conflict - it is the contradiction within the social system itself, on the basis of which the class conflict arises and operates

- products not individually produced but socially produced.
- products, now socially produced, are not appropriated by those who really set the means of production in motion and, really, produce the products, but by the capitalist

Basic contradiction of capitalism:
contradiction between socialized labor and capitalist appropriation --
manifests itself as an antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie

Movement & Change result from causes inherent in things & processes, from internal contradictions

Lenin, State and Revolution
"A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of class struggle to the

acceptance of the dictatorship of the
proletariat. This is where the
profound difference lies between
a Marxist and an ordinary petty
(or even big) bourgeois. "

Contradiction is the driving force
of change

A process is the working out of
its own essential contradiction

Qualitative change is the result in
the change in the balance of
opposites

Marx " External causes are the
condition of change and
internal causes are the
basis of change, external
causes becoming operative
through internal causes. "

page 102

real change begins at the nodal point -
qualitatively after several
quantitative changes

qualitative "leap": the first appearance
of the new which was not there
before

Social Contradictions are antagonistic
when they involve conflicts of economic
interest

once class antagonisms gone
in socialist society - questions
will be settled by discussion &
argument, criticism & self-criticism,
by persuasion, instruction, and
agreement

struggle of opposites is a universal
feature of every contradiction -
major may not be antagonistic

Lenin - "antagonism & contradiction
are utterly different. Under
socialism antagonism disappears
but contradiction remains."

Mao: the principal contradiction at
the present stage of world social
development is the one between
imperialism and national
liberation movements

Negation in development - old must
be negated by the new.

Engels:

"Negation in dialectics does not mean simply saying no." - ending of old, for the coming into being the new & higher form

Negation of negation: features of an earlier stage return at a later stage - not a repeat though, qualitative changes

i.e. primitive communism → higher, industrialized communism

Dialectical Materialism: understanding things just as they are (materialism) in their actual interconnections and movement (dialectics)

Socialism: a science in Marx's sense

9-15-74

Agenda

- 1) Black Workers Congress
P. presented - dogmatic but good principles, not read at group but handed out
- 2) Kaela outline
- 3) Combat Liberalism
- 4) Cornforth
- 5) Future Structure. Readings
Membership

Marx

S.M. criticism - denying that abstract dogmatic Marxism exists but discussed in opposition to practice - broad based. Subject should be treated more in depth; liberalism is complex difference between liberal politics and actions

Discussion of depending right to speak
Rifon vs. Criminals - Draft
Kissinger, no straight trade.
Oct 12 - Vietnam Remo
12 - Camille Hall's Art Expo

Cornforth

S.M. Marx didn't call Dialectical Materialism a philosophy, denied mind for any kind of philosophy - Callista theory (how one interprets this)

against the real material world

by idealism in philosophy
We mean any doctrine which
says "that beyond material
reality there is a higher,
spiritual reality, in terms
of which the material
reality is in the last
analysis to be explained

Subjective idealism: philosophy
that teaches that the material
world does not exist at all;
nothing exists but the sensations
and ideas in our minds
and there is no external material
reality corresponding to them

Dualism: attempt to reconcile
materialism and idealism

Realism: Real world exists
but invented and controlled
by god

idealism is a weapon of
reaction - ideology of capitalists

materialism teaches us to
have confidence in ourselves

Before Marx, materialism was
mechanistic, after Marx
dialectical

mechanistic materialism
rested on the unchanging
atom, was made by thinking
of the rising bourgeoisie,
directed against feudal ideas
weaknesses.

- 1) Supreme Being - who
started the modern
ages
- 2) changes as eternal
repetition of the same
kinds of mechanical
processes, eternal cycle
of the same changes
- change but no development.

3) explain society as consisting of social atoms interacting but sees no real economic or social causes for the development of society

Utopian Socialists - were mechanistic materialists, put forward Socialism as an ideal society, they did not see it as necessitated by the development of the contradictions of Capitalism

world consists of processes not things
development is the struggle of opposites
dialectical materialism sees the universe as in a continual process of development
study of contradiction without the very essence of things

Fascism

Characteristics

- Jackson
- 1) Anti-labor
 - 2) Centralized Capitalist economy

Seize the Time

- 1) Internat'l Capitalist economy
- 2) Racist philosophy promoted
- 3) Police & Military personnel are promoted to positions of mass control
- 4) Alliance between labor and govt & corporate elites

Wolfe URPE

- 1) Heightened anti-radicalism based on a mass movement
- 2) Excessive reliance on coercive means of controlling the population
- 3) State directed though Capitalist economy
- 4) Emphasis on lack of dogma leading to a worship of the spontaneous & irrational
- 5) Missionary foreign policy of aggrandizement

The Enemy

- 1) Repression
- 2) Mass base

URPE

Liberal Society

- 1) Equality is upheld to be a general idea

philosophy : something presented as
being true, dialectics is
Constantly changing

P.M. - D.M. is an approach.

S.M. - Philosophies don't change

Marxism is a theory, method
- not omnipotent i.e. Lenin
philosophy rigidifies theory and
stymied change

if a theory is a doctrine, how can
one practice a doctrine

D.M. - method of explaining real world
fact of oppression is not a
theory but theories are needed
to explain possible changes.
There is no one true way to set the
world

Mary saw

- 1) Mercantile Capitalism
- 2) Laissez-Faire Capitalism -
never saw the reintegration
of business and government

P. - P.M. philosophy but an approach,
not true or untrue

Lenin's practice differs from philosophy

Mechanistic Materialism

ruling class philosophy now
Man is supreme
Christian ethic: humans will
become more altruistic so
the system can stay static

French Cornforth, B.W.C.

9-21-74

Dialectics

Dialectical method: nothing but the
method of studying and understanding
things in their real change
and development

Misapprehension: abstract way of thinking
Consists of thinking as though
what is abstracted could exist
in abstraction

fixed
frozen
ignores interconnections

"Human nature" does not exist
independently but ~~but~~ develops
and changes with the development
of society in which humans live

democracy - pure & abstract, no such thing
individually: ask - democracy for whom?
exploited or exploited

Misapprehension: presupposes each thing
has a fixed nature and fixed
properties, thinks in terms of
"things" rather than "processes"

Marxism is continuation and
culmination of the past
achievements of philosophy -
puts end to an epoch &
constitutes new point of
departure - it gives the
common people in their
struggle to throw off all
exploitation and to build
a classless society - SEEKS TO
UNDERSTAND THE WORLD IN ORDER
TO CHANGE

Dialectical materialism is a
philosophy of science and practice

Dialectics : to change things, must
study them in their real
changes & interconnections
Materialism : strive to make
our theories correspond to
the real conditions of
material existence

Mechanistic materialism = metaphysical materialism

positivist - no right to assert anything exists except our own sense-perceptions (but these perceptions exist in a vacuum from real world)

Dialectics from Greek dialogo - meaning to discuss or debate

D.M. method of investigation

Metaphysical thinking formula: "Each thing is what it is, and not another thing."

"Either OR but not both"

Unity & Struggle of Opposites

- 1) Things interrelate fundamentally opposite
 - a.) Repulsion & attraction
 - b.) Positive & Negative
 - c.) Organically, building up & breaking down
 - d.) Mathematically, addition & subtraction, plus & minus

Class-divided societies think in metaphysical terms

- 1) tries to ignore and discount opposition

2) Considers Opposites lack in isolation from each other

Polarity: fundamental opposites are polar opposites, cannot exist in separation

In capitalist society, the increasing socialization of labor is inseparable from its opposite, the increasing centralization of capital

Stalin Dialectical and Historical Materialism

1) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as just an agglomeration of things, each existing independently of the others, but it considers things as "connected with, dependent on and determined by each other."

2) Dialectics considers everything as in "a state of continuous movement and change, of renewal and development, where something is always growing and developing and something always disintegrating and dying away."

3) Dialectics considers development as an "onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from lower to higher."

4) Dialectics "holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place... as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things... as a struggle of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions."

Dialectical Method demands that we should consider things, not each by itself, but always in their interconnections with other things.

Understanding things in their interconnections is inseparable from understanding things in their movements and changes.
Darwin: interrelation of organism and environment in the process of evolution.

Lenin wrote: "The most essential thing in Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions."

Must not accept ready-made schemes
Hegel: thesis
antithesis
synthesis

Tsarist Russia: Mensheviks "We must
have Capitalism before socialism."
Lenin - alliance of workers with peasants
can overthrow Tsar, capitalists and
build socialism before Capitalism
develops fully.

Trotsky - "You can't build socialism
in one country. Unless
the revolution takes place
in the advanced capital
countries, socialism can
come to Russia."

Lenin & Stalin - can still build for socialism in
Russian country

Western Europe "We must have
fascism before socialism."
- fight with liberals to preserve
bourgeois democracy and to defeat
the fascists, create conditions
to win working class power
and commence to build socialism

"Capitalism means war; therefore
war is inevitable."
unite to prevent realization of
war plans.

Fascism = Control

- 1) Colonial Oppression of Blacks
 - a) Politically - Repressive

Jackson 1. Out of Power

2. In power but not secure

3. In power and secure

a) Use of media

b) Through promotion of alienation & isolation

c) Philosophy of despair

d) Shame as civil rights - sophisticated cover

Fascism not static but ongoing

b) Economically - Centralized

a) Internationally, politically, and economically fascist

b) Anti-labor (or Anti-Communist)

c) U.S. people bought off

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2) Attempt to assert that there are certain areas of freedom that the Govt is not supposed to tamper with.

Liberalism's assets to the ruling class

- 1) An elitist system which gives the appearance of participation without the reality.
- 2) A commitment to certain rules of discourse and political conduct without which an ordered capitalist society would be impossible.
- 3) An ideology which is open and closed at the same time, depending on circumstances.
- 4) An international order which is not so much expansionist as it is based on principles of expansion through order and stability.

Fascism provides none of these things. Benefits reserved to a small group.

U.S. fascist internationally but not domestically.

- to say that mass oppression doesn't occur in this country is fascist.
- Historically, the U.S. is ripe for explaining fascism.

1. America in the Depression

a. Organized at its height

a. Red Aya Vanguard

2. F. D. R. = "New Deal"

a. Limit Competition

b. Replace it with the dream
of cooperation

c. Put Russey-fare Direct

d. Initiate the acceptance
of government intervention
in the economy

③ Key policy: "Reform through government intervention."

f. Fascism is always a response to the threat of the establishment

- 1) No fascist regime has ever abolished private ownership
- 2) Tries to degenerate and diffuse working class consciousness by psycho-social appeal to man's herd instincts
- 3) Development and exploitation of authoritarian syndrome

5. Contra-Positive Mobilization

a. Destroys the workers' consciousness and effects an arrangement that benefits the capitalist

for Peron - Argentina

- 1) Reformist at best
- 2) Utilized labor to support him

a. Inflationary budgeting

d. Economic centralization

- 1) Monopoly Capital Control
- 2) Price fixing
- 3) Wage freezes
- 4) Carefully balanced foreign trade

7. Latin America

1. Neo-Colonial status
2. Dependence on foreign trade

d. Another form of mass mobilization
laid between positive and contra-
positive mobilization

2) Involves men uprooted to serve
in nation-state wars

3) Farmers thus gravitated to
cities

4) Traditional agriculture sector
forced to mechanize

a) Pull marginal land out of
production

b) Some agricultural areas
collapsed altogether

c) Result: Importation of
foodstuffs & other agri-
cultural products

d) Represented another function
turned over to modern sector

e. W. W. I. - international capitalism
went through an expansion phase

1) Boom time

2) 1920-25: Western world
in recession

3) 1925-29: Business recovered

4) 1929 - Depression

a) Underconsumption

5) 2 countries little affected

a) Russian - Socialist

b) Italy

1) Strong economic centralization

2) Fascism established

between 1920-25 recession

a) Openly Traditionalist

3. Pseudo-Intellectual Origins of Fascism

- a. Can be traced to ancient Greece
- b. European Fascists recognized Hegel
- c. Western Europeans combined:

- 1) Nietzsche
- 2) Hegel
- 3) Plato's philosopher king

4. Positive Mobilization

- a. Mid to late 19th century Germany

- 1) Development of centralization of power and control
- 2) Period characterized by the movement of masses from the traditional agricultural sector into the sweat shops of the cities
- 3) Policy designed by new capitalist class to limit the range of choices of the newly mobilized classes
- 4) Specter of Communism haunting Europe

- b. Working masses began to organize and exert increasing political influence

- c. Two-sided struggle opened the 20th century

- a) Proletariat vs. the Ruling Class

- b) Ruling Class Conflicts

- 1) Older Traditionalist Sector
- 2) Manufacturing Class

8. Class Struggle is an ingredient of fascism
9. Ultimate aim is the Complete destruction of revolutionary Consciousness
10. Essence of totalitarian socio-political capitalism is concealed behind the illusion of a mass participatory society
11. Underconsumption = Overproduction, remedy is to expand = the Imperialist Syndrome

E Mobilization and Contramobilization

1. Early face of fascism: not merely anti-communist, fundamentally a general indictment of bourgeois decadence
2. Three faces of fascism
 - a. Out of Power: tends to be almost revolutionary and subversive, anti-capitalist and anti-socialist
 - b. In Power but not secure: perverted aspect of fascism, the ruling class through its instrumental regime is able to suppress the vanguard party of the people and workers' movements
 - c. In Power and Securely so:
 - 1) Dissent allowed
 - 2) Finished product: diametrically opposed to its original ideology

11-6-74 Notes

Lenin

Big imperialist countries - transport

U.S. doesn't want undeveloped countries
to develop into monopoly capitalists
- import raw materials and
impose tariffs on underdev
countries on their manufactured
goods

- we do all manufacturing

- we sell surpluses to foreign
countries - sell at high prices
at home and at lower prices
abroad

U.S. - Transport Stage - Manufacture -
Export

Colonials develop anyway
but economic control

Opportunism of middle class

Korean War - Turning Point
Yalta - 1944 Russia got

Eastern Europe in
return for cooling it
in France & Italy

38th Parallel - at end of WWII

- (c) The lack of a single command
 (1) entails the lack of a general plan of action
- (a) Uncontrolled actions in the City
- (b) Dispersion in the very heart of the rural guerrillas - slow creation of forces
- (c) Artificial leadership of an improvised political front
- (1) Setting up of phony national fronts
- (2) Necessary to proceed from the small to the large
- (3) No political front which is basically a deliberative body, can assume leadership of a people's war - Only a revolutionary general staff can
- (d) Strategy: differentiation between the primary and the secondary, from which comes a clear priority of tasks and functions.

II The Principal Lesson of the Vireuil
 A Which should be strengthened today, the Party or the guerrillas, embryo of the people's army? Which is the decisive link? To what should the principal effort be made?

- 3) In Vietnam and China the armed struggle and party developed simultaneously through people's war, anti feudal to anti-imperialist, thus a profound link with the people was established in both cases.
- 4) Latin America - Parties have come first - haven't led wars of national liberation
- a) A new style of leadership: guerrilla warfare is directed not from outside but from within, with the leadership accepting its full share of the risks involved
 - b) A new Organization: Party discipline becomes military discipline; democracy, centralism in initial stages leads to excessive deliberation
 - c) New Ideological Reflexes: no safeguarding of unity at any price that disregards revolutionary aims and principles.

B. How is a vanguard party formed? Can the Party, under existing Latin American conditions, create the popular army, or is it up to the popular army to create the vanguard? Which is the nucleus of which?

Contributions of the Cuban Revolution

"Under certain conditions, the political and the military are not separate, but form one organic whole, consisting of the people's army, whose nucleus is the guerrilla army. The vanguard party can exist in the form of the guerrilla force itself. The guerrilla forms the party in embryo."

2) "A guerrilla force cannot develop on the military level if it does not become a political vanguard."

3) The Guerrilla Movement is a confirmation in action of that class alliance which it alone can achieve, the alliance that will take and administer power, the alliance whose interests are those of socialism - the alliance between workers, peasants

10-29-74

"Fascism" - Blood in My Eye, J. Jackson

One legal politics in U.S. - Corporatism

Fascism - 2 general factors

A. Capitalist Orientation

B. Anti labor, anti class nature

- C. Has an international quality

1. Not basically nationalist

2. Follows Socialism all over the globe

D. Monopoly Capital

1. Began effectively after the Civil War

2. Prior to this, bourgeois democratic rule prevailed

3. M.C. forced out small business factory setups

4. Force of M.C. swept across the western world in the first half of 20th Century

5. Fascism is an economic arrangement

6. Common feature of all capitalist nations is the opposition of a weak socialist revolution

7. Episodically, logical stages in the socio-economic development of capitalism in a state of crisis

III. Some Consequences for the future

A. The setting up of military focus, not political focus, is decisive for the future.

B. Without armed struggle there is no well-defined vanguard.

C. No one can avoid saying that in Latin America today the struggle against imperialism is decisive.

guerrilla base

5) The subjection of the guerrilla force to the party as just one more component added to its peacetime organization

I To Free the Present from the Past
A: Armed self-Defense

1) As a system, liquidated by the march of events

2) Used in:

a. Colombia zones of peasant self-defense

b. Bolivia zones of worker self-defense

c. Two "nuclei of subversion" liquidated by army
Colombia May 1964
Bolivia May - Sept 1965

3. Failure of armed self-defense on a military level corresponds to reformism on a political level

Economism: effective defense by trade unions of the workers' job interests against encroachments by the power of the management

4) Self-defense can be, and often is, aggressive

5) Ideologically born prior to Marx

- a) Late 18th Cent Peruvian uprising led by Tupac Amaru II - disorganized
- b) - Economism denies the vanguard role of the party
 - self-defense denies the role of the armed unit
- 7) Self-defense does not aim at military supremacy
 - insurrection on local not national level

Guerrilla warfare passes through stages

- 1) Stage of establishment
- 2) Stage of development - marked by the enemy offensive carried out with all available means (operational and tactical encirclements, airborne troops, bombardments, etc)
- 3) Stage of Revolutionary Offensive at once political & military

Trotskyism:

- 1) Awaken latent spontaneity of workers
- 2) Dual Power
 - a) Establishment of a single United Confederation

of workers: this confederation, by means of instantaneous and generalized risings in the mountains and cities, will be the instrument for taking power

b) Countryside: Organization of peasant unions

① Occupation of land

② Organization of localized insurrections

3) Workers, step by step, take control of the means of production

4) Next workers rise up immediately and directly against state power - no intermediaries

* Direct passage from union action to insurrection

5) Calls not for organized military forces and, thus, leaves the masses at the mercy of the oppressive forces

6) Trotskyism considers the trade union to be the organizational base, and not the force of the class struggle

Guerrilla Force

A. Clandestine - Because:

- 1) Concerned as much with the peasants' safety as with its own fighting
- 2) To protect the safety of the guerrilla force itself

3 golden rules - "constant vigilance, constant mistrust, constant mobility"

B. Mobility and flexibility

C. Self-defense undermines the security of the civilian population

B. Armed Propaganda

"Political struggle and armed struggle go hand in hand."

a la
Vietnam

- 1) Propagandists can mix easily with the people - "like fish in the sea"
- 2) They are linked either with the bases of revolutionary support or with a people's army capable of backing them up or protecting them in their activities
- 3) They attest to the tangible and visible reality of military victories

- Vietnam built from the base up
- Latin America from the apex down

"Denying contradiction is to deny everything."

of dialectic."

6) Pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing.

1) Marx discovered in studying the economic base of Capitalist Society that the basic contradiction is between the social character of its production and the private character of ownership.

2) Relationship between universals of the contradiction and its particularity - in all general character there is individual character.

3) Principal Contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction.

1) always one principal contradiction.

(What is the principal contradiction in the U.S. today?)

2) Of two contradictory aspects in a contradiction - one is the principal and one is the secondary.

--- can transform themselves into each other.

* "At certain times in the revolutionary struggle the difficulties outweigh the favorable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and the

Revolution in the Revolution? Debray

"Cuba remembered from the beginning, that the Socialist Revolution is the result of an armed struggle against the armed power of the bourgeois State."

2 Archetypes - 1917

- Asian Guerrilla Warfare

Fidel hadn't read Mao until after 1958

Bolivar - valid lesson of TENACITY

foco: center of guerrilla operations rather than a military base in the usual sense. No English equivalent

"In each country that has experienced a revolution, a confrontation has taken place between revolutionaries on one side and reformists and future renegades on the other."

Latin America - Revolutionary Lines Used

Cuban Revolution

(1) Slow build-up through guerrilla warfare carried out in suitable rural zones

(2) Mobile Strategic Force: nucleus of a people's army and of a future socialist state

Imported Military Lines

(3) Concept of armed self-defense
(4) A particular way of interpreting armed propaganda and the

favourable conditions constitute the secondary aspects.

E. The identity and struggle of the aspects of a contradiction

- 1) The existence of each of the two aspects of a contradiction in the process of the development of a thing presupposes the existence of the other aspect
- 2) In given conditions, each of the two contradictory aspects transforms itself into its opposite
- 3) Contradictory aspects cannot exist independently - needs unity with the other aspect
- 4) Lenin says that dialectics is the study of "how opposites can be ... identical."
- lack is the condition for the other's existence
- 5) Each aspect transforms itself into the other
- 6) Identity of opposites exists only in certain given conditions
- the concrete condition of the time makes all things possible

7) Two states of motion in
all things

quantitative a) relative rest

qualitative b) conspicuous change

- unity of opposites conditional

- struggle of mutually exclusive
opposites is absolute

7. The place of antagonism in
contradiction

1) One form (antagonism) of the
struggle of opposites

II. Conclusion

1) Law of contradiction in things
in a fundamental law

2) Opposed to metaphysical world
outlook

3) Great revolution in the history
of human knowledge

(2)

10-4-74

Capitalism is the global economic system with socialist political (not economic) enclaves -

Since 1946, 1.3 trillion dollars spent on military spending. Military spending, *apropos* facts, inflationary; spends but produces few goods.

Since 1972, while inflation's been going on, industrial production and ~~unemployment~~ has decreased (recession)

1. Monopolistic Dual Economy - inflation & recession occurring at the same time

2. Competitive sector of masses (What benefits one hurts the other) Causes behind inflation aren't Aggregate Demand because there are surpluses.

We have too many dollars in one part of society and too many goods in whole society - has to do with control of money and means of production - thus, I can push prices up while the demand is low.

Real purchasing income of 50,000,000 workers is at level of December, 1970 - so goods available can't be in excess of supplies of Dec 1970 but they are.

Organizing stronger today than in 1930

no one to buy - so goods
destroyed, workers starve -
they need social ownership
of the means of production !!!

all history since the dissolution
of primitive communal society
has been rife with class
struggle, the history of
conflict between the exploiters
and the exploited

rise of new productive forces and
of the relations of production
does not take place separately
from the old system but
within it spontaneously,
independently of the will of
man

- 1) Each generation must
be assimilated into the
methods of the previous
generation
- 2) men do not realize
what social results
will arise from
improvements in the
means of production
at the time they happen

Production Forces of Society

- 1) Instruments of Production
- 2) People who operate instruments
- 3) Production experience & labour skill

Relation of Production

1) Social

Changes in the modes of production create changes in the whole social system (social ideas, political views) and political institutions. The history of development of society is above all the history of the development of production.

* men change in correspondence to changes in tool of production — rather changes independently

5 Main types of relation of production

- 1) Primitive communal
- 2) Slave
- 3) Feudal
- 4) Capitalist
- 5) Socialist

Overproduction of goods — workers' purchasing power reduced, too many goods but

"New social theories and ideas arise because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming actions."

What determines social changes?

"Conditions of material life of society."

- a) nature which surrounds society
- b) geographical environment

geographical environment does not determine change in human society because geography changes so slowly

- c) growth of population - doesn't explain change by one society into another

historical materialism holds that the method of procuring the means of life necessary for human existence, the mode of production determines the physiognomy of society.

Marxism

Concatenation page 8

Marxism
pg 18

- b) Nature in Continuous movement
- c) Quantitative Changes leading to qualitative leaps
- d) internal contradictions are inherent in all things
- Change occurs due to a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions

Everything depends on the conditions, time, and place.

Materialism - features

- a) world by its very nature material
- b) holds that the world, matter, being are objective realities - not in our minds
matter - primary
mind - secondary
- c) holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable

Marx - "... their (men's) social being that determines their consciousness."

"Dialectical and Historical Materialism
by Joseph Stalin"

Dialectical Materialism:

approach to phenomena of
Nature, method of study - DIALECTICAL
interpretation of phenomena,
its theory - MATERIALISTIC

Historical Materialism is the
extension of principles of dialectical
materialism to the study of
social life

Hegel - Marx and Engels took
only "rational kernel"
of Hegelian dialectics,
casting aside idealistic
shell

Feuerbach - philosopher who
restored materialism to its
rights, took his "inner
kernel", developed it into a
scientific-philosophical theory
of materialism & cast aside
its idealistic and religious-
ethical encumbrances

principle features:

a) all phenomena interconnected,
dependent on, and
determined by each other

7. Wages can be limited by the value of products, but the value of products will not be limited by wages.

8. The productive powers of labor must principally depend upon:

a) The natural conditions of labor (soil, mines, etc.)

b) The progressive improvement of the social power of labor, i.e. concentration of capital and combination of labor, subdivision of labor, machinery, improved tools, etc.

9) The values of commodities are directly as the times of labor employed in their production, and are inversely as the productive powers of labor employed.

10) Price & Monetary expression of value; on gold and silver standards, etc.

a) Market Price: expresses only the average amount of social labor necessary, under the average conditions of production, to supply the market with a certain mass of a certain article.

Market prices
fluctuate
continuously

b) Natural Price (aka Adam Smith)
central price to which the
prices of all commodities
are continually gravitating

11. The general nature of profits:
On the average, commodities are
sold at their real values, and
that profits are derived from
selling them at their real
values, that is, in proportion
to the quantity of labor
realized in them.

VII Laboring Power

- 1) The working man sells not
directly his labor but
his laboring power.
- 2) The value of laboring power
is determined by the value
of the necessities required
to produce, maintain,
and perpetuate the
laboring power.

VIII Production of Surplus Value

- 1) The use of laboring power
is determined or only limited
by the active energies and
physical strength of the
laborer

Prices

III. Wages and Currency

a) if wages rise, currency isn't increased, the inflation backing it up, merely moves in the market to lower level currency to cover it

IV. Supply and Demand

a) These two regulate the temporary fluctuations of the market

b) at the moment supply and demand equilibrate each other, and therefore cease to act, the market price of a commodity coincides with its real value, with the standard price, which around which its market price oscillate.

V. Wages and Prices

a) Prices of commodities are not ruled by the prices of labor (often, low-priced labor produces high-priced commodities and vice versa)

"price" = exchangeable value expressed in money

VI. Value and Labor

(If commodities have same value
become crystallized, fixed)

- 1) What is the value of a commodity and how is it determined? (proportional quantity in which it exchanges with other commodities)
- 2) How are the proportions in which commodities exchange with each other regulated? Everything must be reduced to some common measure of value distinguishing them by the proportions in which they contain that identical measure.
- 3) What is the common social substance of all commodities? Labor (social labor)
- 4) How does one measure quantity of labor? By the time the labor lasts.
5. The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities of amounts of labour, worked up, related, fixed with.
6. The correlative quantities of ~~labor~~ commodities which can be produced in the same time of labor are equal.

(quantity of
labor necessary)

10-12-74

Wages, Prices, and Profits - Marx

I Production and Wages

a) The amount of national production and real wages (the amount as measured by the number of ^{commodities} quantities they can buy) are not fixed and constant.

b) Capitalist will take as much as possible - we have to inquire into his

1) Power

2) Limits of that power

3) Character of those limits

II Production, Wages, Profits

1) Rise in wages produces an increase in demand for necessities and, consequently, a rise in the market prices of these commodities.

2) If wages rise, those industries that produce luxuries would experience a fall in the rate of profit. They cannot raise prices because the demand is not great.

Abstractly - Weston's argument is: Every rise in demand occurs always on the basis of a given amount of production. It can, therefore, never increase the supply of the articles demanded but can only enhance their market value.

①

Monthly Review

Dec 73

Harry Magdoff

4-74

Douglas Dowd

Each crisis in capitalist development alters the social processes and relationships, so effects of each inescapable crisis is more penetrating and pervasive than the last - those relatively immune to effects of these are shrinking in numbers

residual
same
thing

1) ever-increasing centralization of the means of production

2) ever-increasing centralization of political power

(in this century)

Capitalism most powerful now more than ever

3) Transformation in role of the state quantitatively & qualitatively in 20th/cent.

4) Increases in levels of productivity & proliferation of goods - expanded levels of per capita income shared by new levels (ie working class) of population

5) Since WWII - military spending

6) U.S. emergence as leader in system

in industrial world - mining, transportation, etc

194,000 corporations exist

87 corp. control over 1/2 of

all productive assets of all 194,000

One corp., GM, sold 1/40 of all GNP of U.S.

10 corp. made 20% of all profits of all corps (industrial and non-industrial)

1970

In formulating a strategy on how to move mass work forward must consider:

- a) Present domestic conditions
- b) The history of the country (especially of the progressive and revolutionary movements)
- c) The experience of other comrades internationally that have the most relevance to our situation

2. Major ideological debates

I) How to build a party

- a) It will spring spontaneously from the masses
- b) Small, disciplined groups of cadres from the masses of the movement will unite to form a small but strong organization

II Whether or not the U.S. is a fascist state and the consequent form of organizing needed

"Seize the Line"

10-17-74

On Organization in the "Revolutionary Movement"

Lack of successful organizing due to:

- 1) Localism - mentality of not looking beyond one's own area for ideas and/or assigning unique prominence to the importance of one's own local area and beliefs
- 2) Defeatism - losing confidence in the masses and the revolutionary movement, taking the short view and not the long view
- 3) Unsystematic and unprofessional propaganda among the masses and the vanguard. Also propaganda work being done is so hard to read and sloppier that people do not want to read it.

Mass organizations cannot exist without a people's military force to defend it - Now, mass work must move forward

I line on how to build a revolutionary party

a) Revolutionary national united fronts

(-) New Leninist fighting party

2. The rate of surplus value will depend upon the proportion between that part of the workers day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring power and the surplus time or surplus labor performed for the capitalist.

IX. Value of Labor

- 1) Value and price of laboring power is distinct from price or value of labor itself
- 2) Surplus value and labor paid for (that part of working day necessary for Capitalist to pay labor) appear as exactly the same but surplus labor time is actually unpaid labor.

X. Profit is made by selling a commodity at its value

- 1) The value of a commodity is determined by the total quantity of labor contained in it.
 - a) Part paid
 - b) Part unpaid (this yields profit)

XI The Different Parts into which Surplus Value is Decomposed

1. Surplus Value = Profit
2. Different Parts
 - a) Rent
 - b) Interest
 - c) Industrial Profit
3. Profit = whole amount of Surplus value extracted by the Capitalist without any regard to the division of that surplus value between different parties
4. Rate of Profit = measure of profits by the value of the Capital advanced in wages

XII General Relation of Profits, Wage And Price

- 1) A general rise in wages will affect the general rate of profit but not values.
- 2) Value of a commodity is regulated by the quantity of labor worked up in it which depends upon the productive powers of the labor employed.

XIII Main Cases of Attempts at Raising Wages or Keeping Them Fall

- 1) The decrease in productivity could raise the amount of labor necessary to produce commodities; consequently, the value of labor would rise, or vice versa.
- 2) The values of necessities, and consequently, the value of labor, might remain the same, but a change might occur in their money prices, consequent upon a previous change in the value of money.
 - a) If money depreciates, the workman must earn more to maintain his standard of living.
- 3) Attempt by capitalist to get more out of worker than legally proscribed limits.
- 4) The rise of wages must correspond to the greater amount of labor extracted.
- 5) Capitalist production moves through certain periodical cycles.

- a) animation
- b) prosperity
- c) overtrade
- d) Crisis
- e) stagnation
- f) The working man must take advantage of the periods of prosperity to compensate for the austerity of the crises periods
- g) Wages must serve as reactions to the previous actions of capital

XIV.

The struggle between capital and labor and its results

- 1) Value of laboring power is performed by two elements
 - a) physical & ultimate
 - b) historical & social - traditional standard of life
- 2) Maximum of profits corresponds to the physical minimum of wages
- 3) Limitation of the working day is settled only by legislative interference
 - a) The capitalist has more economic power than the laborer

4) The limits of the value of
labor depend upon supply
and demand

Debray says, "Armed propaganda follows military action but does not precede it."

C. The Guerrilla Base - Cuba

- 1) Guerrillas must always be mobile
- 2) never defend territory
- 3) Base built from the outside in
- 4) In beginning stages... the guerrilla base is according to an expression of Fidel, the territory within which the guerrilla happens to be moving."

D. The Party and the Guerrilla

Camilo Cienfuegos - "The rebel army is the people in uniform."

- 1) Guerrilla force often called the "armed fist" of a liberation front
- 2) Dangerous apriori, military errors result from political errors
- 3) Guerrilla force not one more ramification of party activity - this sort of attitude leads to fatal

Military Errors:

- (a) Discent To the City
 - (1) Party Central Committees in Urban area
 - (2) Guerrilla leader board to be eventually seized
 - (3) Selective Assassination in Latin America: kill the leaders, leave the rest alone
 - 2 advantages
 - (a) Leaders are isolated
 - (b) Fighters who do not want to die are corrupted
- (b) The lack of political power leads to logistical and military dependence of the mountain forces on the city. This dependence often leads to abandonment of the guerrilla force by the City leadership.
 - (1) Logistical dependence
 - (a) Lead to passive waiting
 - (b) Guerrillas in Cuba captured their own arms
 - (c) Espionage is done from the City in
 - (2) Military dependence
 - (a) Military operations cannot be planned months in advance

1. Historically, the party should be strengthened first is the answer

a. Theoretical orthodoxy: "It is not a matter of destroying a army but of seizing state power in order to transform the social structure."

- 1) Done through the party of Marxism-Leninism
- 2) Party determines the political context and the goal to be pursued
- 3) People's Army is merely an instrument of implementation

b. Historical Orthodoxy

- 1) Russia, China, Vietnam - army subordinate to the Party
- 2) Fidel - "There is no revolution without a vanguard; that this vanguard is not necessarily the Marxist-Leninist party; and that those who want to make the revolution have the right and duty to constitute themselves a vanguard, independently of these parties."

Frank A. Kumman and Arthur MacEwan

Inflation, Recession and Crisis, Or, Would
You Buy a Car From the Man?
from URPE August 1972

Nixon's August 15, 1971 speech
done to stimulate profits
(Always keep in mind: Capitalism
is based on production for profit
Capitalism can only be made to grow
by providing profitable opportunities
for expansion.)

Economic policies of a Capitalist government
are aimed at maintaining the stability
or "smooth functioning" of the system.
Protects and extends the operation
of fundamental institutions of the
system

- a) Labor and Capital Markets
- b) Private Ownership
- c) Control of the means of
production

I. The Domestic Economy

A. U.S. economy has grown rapidly
and steadily since W.W.II

1. Since 1946, the real GNP has
increased at an average rate
of more than 3.5%

2. Real per capita income has
grown by almost 60%

3. Recession in 1950

4. Kennedy's 1961 legislative program

Q 2128

The Hearings
were for the
Commissioners
of the
Court.

as a tax loop
The funds

of \$6 million worth of food. We recognize that at wholesale prices available to Mr. Hearst in his designated "Peoples In Need" charity organization, he will be able to feed all who come to receive food. We specify wholesale prices here because we did not intend for Saleway or any other to pay market to

APAC to ~~hardly~~ be able to do it if they accept this role as Chairman of the coalition and will have power in the actions and activities of the coalition. We request this and ask this because of that organization's example of showing the people that they serve only the interest of the people and that they desire to free the people by any means necessary.

that is, by understanding that it is a lie. And (3) there is no way to win the war without using force, so we must use force.

10-10-68

As a result of the investigation, the FBI has been advised that the above information is being furnished to the FBI for its information and for the use of the FBI in the event of a future investigation of the activities of the above named persons.

S.L.A. TELLS WHY FOSTER DIED

BABE Dope printed the FBI test of the letter sent to the media by the Symbionese Liberation Army, who claim responsibility for the assassination of Oakland Schools Superintendent Marcus A. Foster November 6.

It came to us via KPFA who, along with the Oakland Tribune and the SF Chronicle, had received a photocopy of the letter a couple of days after the killing. Friday, the day after we got it, six cops with a search warrant visited KPFA offices and seized the letter from the desk of news director Paul Fisher, after the station had refused to hand it over.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY WESTERN REGIONAL YOUTH UNIT COMMUNIQUE NO. 1:

Subject: The Board of Education, The Implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

Warrant Order: Execution by Cyanide Bullets, Date: November 6, 1973.

Warrant Issued By: The Court of the People.

Charges: Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of a Political Police Force operating within the Schools of the People. Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of Bio-Dossiers through the Forced Youth Identification Program. Supporting and taking part in the building of composite files for the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

Targets: Dr. Marcus A. Foster, California; Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent, Oakland, California.

On the afore stated date, elements of The United Federated Forces of the S.L.A. did attack the Fascist Board of Education, Oakland, California, through the person of Dr. Marcus A. Foster, Superintendent of Schools, and Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent.

This attack is to serve as notice

and The Court of the People and have been found guilty of supporting and taking part in crimes committed against the children and the life of the people.

This attack is also to serve notice on the fascist Board of Education and its fascist supporters that The Court of the People has issued a Death Warrant on All Members and Supporters of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. This SHOOT ON SIGHT order will stay in effect until such time as ALL POLITICAL POLICE ARE REMOVED FROM OUR SCHOOLS AND ALL PHOTO AND OTHER FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION ARE STOPPED.

Indictment No 1: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting a Special Political Police Force to occupy and patrol the schools in our cities. The vast Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White youth communities of the Oakland-Berkeley area understand that this newest extension of police surveillance is patterned after fascist American tactics of genocide, murder and imprisonment practiced by American financed puppet governments in Vietnam, The Philippines, Chile and South Africa. We recognize that the school system censors and controls what we read, and that the Special Political Police Force is to censor and control what we say and do.

No 2: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting the implementation of Bio-Dossiers through the Forced Youth Identification Program. The Photo Identification Program, with the addition of composite files, is patterned after the system of apartheid in South Africa. The Bio-Dossiers classify our youth according to color and "criminal tendencies" (will to be free) and seek to eliminate all our valiant freedom fighters by "relocating" (incarcerating) them to such concentration camps as Tehachapi Prison. Under the Preventative

Act stipulates that any youth displaying violent or "criminal" potential or the possibility of violent or "criminal" potential in the future, in other words, any youth who oppose the current system of censored Political Police-State education and seek to organize against it are to be classified as dangerous and either disarmed, shot or imprisoned for expressing their rights to be free, and defending the rights to freedom of their fellow brothers and sisters.

No.3: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of supporting and taking part in the implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. The Internal Warfare Tapes are based in the FBI's master computer system. Each state is required to feed this main computer system with information from the composite files of individuals who have expressed political views that may be regarded as differing from those of the fascist ruling class. Members of liberation movements and organizations, as well as single individuals, are identified through photographs and bio-dossiers supplied, in the case of our youth, by the Boards of Education and Public School Systems in our cities. The racist nature of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System is clear since Blacks and other minorities who refuse to serve the rich ruling class are automatically classified as potentially violent and "criminal." The CIA-ITT financed junta government in Chile uses similar bio-dossiers to murder all identified people who oppose the military take-over there or who do not serve and support the interests of the wealthy. Similar programs are carried out by governments financed by America and its military corporate enterprises throughout the world in the lands of the robbed; Vietnam, The Philippines, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, South Africa, etc.

minorities recognize the importance of the Oakland-Berkeley area to the liberation struggle of all oppressed people. We know that the ruling class must seek to stop the revolutionary community here before the ruling class can regain its arm of control around the struggling and oppressed people of the world.

We understand that the definition of a fascist government necessitates the elimination of all who oppose its controls. We know that the school system does not educate us, but rather it lies to us in an attempt to perpetuate the interests of the rich ruling class. News of the successful liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters throughout the world is stifled because the enemy fears our knowledge of the fact that a truly determined people can never be defeated. We reject totally the ruling class values of personal material gain and competition among ourselves, and we know that the enemy fears our understanding of the fact that nothing is more precious than freedom. The myth of a high-style superficial life and fashion show (a capitalist payoff) does not sway us, for we know that the fascist government of Amerika supplies the dope and the clothes and wants us to spend the rest of our lives paying for them. We are well aware that a fascist government will always allow some of us to go high, while the rest of us go to concentration camps, and none of us are free.

It is clear that Dr. Foster and Robert Blackburn, represent the rich ruling class and big business, and not the children and youth of our communities. The school system which they represent does not teach us or educate us, itself to the needs of our survival, but rather perpetuates the values of big business and the wealthy. Under the current system the ruling class is able to exploit, and to control the lives of

are now the only front for the CIA, been arms of American and most of all, Dr. Foster, member of the Internal Commission, a member within the found him as a member and supporter of the Units, armed with to patrol our schools.

The Oakland-Berkeley area is considered particularly to the American and is why it has been Political Police schools and the identification program known to the world implementation of programs, that we no child can be old. November 6, 1973, the University of California, Berkeley, was the first school to be closed in the world, and for the first time, the control of the school system was taken out of the hands of the government and placed in the hands of the people. This is a new era in the history of the world, and we are well aware that a fascist government will always allow some of us to go high, while the rest of us go to concentration camps, and none of us are free.

...ing trial of Russell Little
 (Joe Remiro have doubts about
 number of people involved in
 Symbionese Liberation Army—
 the letter which appeared
 week from the woman she
 are looking for as Nancy
 Perry. She calls herself "Fo-
 ..."

...ially quoted in the SF Chron-
 Examiner, and the Oakland
 one, the letter (published here
 31) stated that the police said
 the SLA headquarters and
 named two members of the
 Information and Intelligence.
 In her letter, Fabrizzi quoted
 friends she called "Bo" and
 "Gale"—which police immedi-
 ly linked with a preceding case
 had confiscated at the 1540
 Oakland St. home of "Boo,
 Fabrizzi, and Galea."

...though police refuse to give
 a conservative estimate of
 strength, they are prepared
 behind the Contra Costa County
 courthouse in Martinez at all
 times. They apparently fear that
 combat forces will attempt
 a direct attack to free Little and
 Remiro. Consequently, the FBI
 cautioned citizens on reaching
 the route into the court-
 house and last week designed an
 escape route to leave SLA o-

...as in case as big as the con-
 viding the Symbionese Libera-
 Army, there is always a mid-
 dle between law enforcement
 and over jurisdiction and co-
 operation. The security of the pri-
 sons and the courtroom is es-
 sential in the hands of the Contra
 Costa County Deputy Sheriff. In-
 volved with this authority by Mar-
 tinez Code 544, the Sheriff's De-
 puty have Little and Remiro
 at night security at San Quan-
 tin. When Little and Remiro were
 referred to the County Court-
 house in Martinez on Monday,
 January 21, for a courtroom ses-
 sion, the hall outside the court-
 house was lined with uniformed
 army sheriffs wearing sunglasses

...most of the sheriffs in the hall-
 way had worked their way up from
 law enforcement details at
 Alameda High School, according to
 armed sources. When student
 activists became political, they
 were promoted to Red Squad. Now,
 they were at their post and they
 have told that this was the
 show and to be careful.

...which is why, probably, the
 Sheriff's Department refused an-
 other reporter and me admittance
 the courtroom Monday. The
 sheriff in charge tapped the bailiff
 to check his head. "They don't
 go to be in there."

...so we turned to the sheriff,
 showed our press passes and asked

...he knew the teacher who had sold
 the van, later involved in the
 Concord shoot-out, to Nancy Ling
 Perry.

The discovery motion in court
 on Monday, January 21, was a
 wrap-up of last week's appearance
 when Remiro's attorney, Robin
 Yeomans, and Little's appointed
 counsel, Jack Bullock, asked that
 their clients be returned from
 San Quentin to the Contra Costa
 County Jail. Judge Hunsbarger
 again said he had no control over
 the Sheriff's Department's juris-
 diction, but made concessions on
 other motions. He lowered bail to
 \$50,000 and appointed a criminalist
 to observe the handling of evidence.
 In the case of Remiro, the lower
 bail was merely academic since
 he has a "no bail held" in Oakland
 for the Foster murder charge.
 Yeomans was given a \$800 ceiling
 for the criminalist, which fee is a
 \$250 retainer and \$50 a day.

The prolonged discovery motion
 is a strategy move at this point
 to keep the DA and the defense
 to get their cases straight. The
 DA has until Friday, January 25,
 to begin the preliminary hearing or
 dismissal charges. If the DA dis-
 misses charges, they can be re-
 filed immediately to delay the
 preliminary matter ten days. The
 main trial itself must begin 45
 days after the arraignment Jan-
 uary 11.

The preliminary on Friday—if
 it comes about—will also deter-
 mine whether the police and DA
 office have made up their minds
 how to approach the case. Little
 and Remiro are charged in Contra
 Costa County with assault and at-
 tempted murder, but Remiro is
 charged in Alameda with the mur-
 der of Oakland's Superintendent of
 Schools, Marcus Foster. The DA
 has two approaches: he can either
 try Little and Remiro in Contra
 Costa on the lesser charge and in
 the meantime get the murder case
 together in Oakland; or the DA's
 office can go for the big one first,
 as they usually do.

On the other hand the Oakland



*Fabrizzi
 Letter*

**"TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR
 ALL THE HOPE AND FUTURE
 OF THE PEOPLE, LET THE
 VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EX-
 PRESS THE WORDS OF FREE-
 DOM."**

Greetings, my comrades sisters
 and brothers, all love, power and
 freedom to you. I am very glad
 to have this opportunity to speak
 to you, even though I know that
 what I am saying cannot be com-
 pletely expressed in words. You
 may have heard of me, but be-
 cause I am any more important
 than any of you, but simply be-
 cause my former name has been
 in the news lately. My name was
 Nancy Ling Perry, but my true
 name is Fabrizzi. What that name
 means is one who is victorious,
 and I am one who believes in the
 liberation and victory of the peo-
 ple, because I have learned that
 what one really believes in is
 what will create strength. So, my
 name is Fabrizzi and I am a free-
 dom fighter in an information/
 intelligence unit of the United
 Federated Forces of the Symbio-
 nese Liberation Army. I still am
 that, in spite of the fact that
 I am now being sought for a
 political action, and in spite of
 the fact that two of my closest
 comrades are now chained in
 the Adjustment Center (the pri-
 son's prison) at San Quentin Con-
 centration Camp. I am still with
 other members of the SLA in-
 formation/intelligence unit, and
 I am hiding only from the enemy
 and not from the people. I have
 no intention of deserting my com-
 mitment nor would I ever try
 to run away from it, because I

*cut
 w/o
 info
 unit
 unit*

**Guerrillas
 Co-ordinate**

SLA

From page 5
have learned that there is no flight to freedom except that of an armed projectile. Although it is the practice of the Symbionese Liberation Army to act rather than talk, I am compelled to speak because I wish to make clear my position and why I am fighting. What it is I am fighting for, what the purpose and nature of the SLA information/intelligence unit is, and why I will continue to fight.

First of all, I think I should tell you something about my background and the evolution of my consciousness. Basically, I have three backgrounds: I have a work background, a love background, and a prison background. My prison background means that I have close ties and feelings with our incarcerated brothers and sisters. What they have taught me is that if people on the outside do not understand the necessity of defending them through force of arms, then it is because these people on the outside do not yet realize that they are in an immediate danger of being thrown in concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs. What my love background has taught me was a whole lot of what love is all about, and the greater one's capacity for love is, the greater is one's longing for freedom. What my work background taught me is that one of the things that every revolutionary does is to fight to get back the fruits of her or his own labor and the control of his or her own destiny.

When I was in high school in 1963-64, I witnessed the first military coup against the people of this country. I saw us passively sit by our L.A. and un-

derstand the meaning of self-defense. When my members of the people's army struck out at the murderers of our people and children, we are doing so in self-defense, we are doing so because we are left no alternative, and force of arms is now our only legal means to effect revolutionary justice. However, the natural instincts of many people in our country have become perverted by the conditions to which they have been subjected. They have been conditioned to be afraid of revolutionary violence. I no longer have these fears because as a comrade of mine named Occoila has taught me, "The only way to destroy fear is to destroy the masters of fear, the murderer and the oppressor." A revolutionary is not a criminal nor is she or he an adventurer, and revolutionary violence is nothing but the most profound means of achieving internal as well as external balance.

As a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit, I fight against our common oppressor, and this I do with my gun as well as my mind. I try to use my mind and my imagination to uncover facts, so that when the SLA attacks it will be in the right place.

These same people have been conditioned to explain why they are doing what they are doing. I want to make it clear that the SLA was not formed automatically, moving from war to war for Foster, Blackburn or anyone else, but rather we were attacking the programs and personnel of which they were the instigators, supporters and first organizers. Such an attack was the only means left open to us to demand that the people's wishes be met, and that all such dangerous, parasitical programs be stopped.

The government-controlled media has made some reference to the effect that this action was carried out by white people made up in black face. Members of the SLA do not have to make up in black face in order to defend the black community, since the SLA is a federation formed in the style of a revolutionary united nations whose commanding leadership is composed of representatives of the Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and White communities. We have more than enough members from every race to carry out any operation. As revolutionaries we would never disguise ourselves by race, because we would never deliberately act in a manner that would bring further police investigation onto any one race of peoples. But I would like to ask, since when does one have to be black in order to care about the murder of 14 year old Tyrone Guyton by

armed, and understand the true meaning of self-defense. When my members of the people's army struck out at the murderers of our people and children, we are doing so in self-defense, we are doing so because we are left no alternative, and force of arms is now our only legal means to effect revolutionary justice. However, the natural instincts of many people in our country have become perverted by the conditions to which they have been subjected. They have been conditioned to be afraid of revolutionary violence. I no longer have these fears because as a comrade of mine named Occoila has taught me, "The only way to destroy fear is to destroy the masters of fear, the murderer and the oppressor." A revolutionary is not a criminal nor is she or he an adventurer, and revolutionary violence is nothing but the most profound means of achieving internal as well as external balance.

I would like to correct and clarify the information given to you by the regime-controlled media and police-state reports associating the Symbionese Liberation Army with the August 7th. First of all, statements about August 7th literature and original communications being found in the Concord house are completely untrue. The Symbionese Liberation Army is NOT the August 7th; in fact, the August 7th is a coun-

termined guerrilla unit that built the prisons. The SLA and communications against it on the August 7th served only enemy purposes: that is, a state-wide lock-down went into effect in the prisons and the people began to think of revolutionary action as that which would endanger their lives and homes. As a member of the SLA I can tell you that the SLA takes full credit and responsibility for its actions, we acknowledge everything that we do, and if we had shot down a helicopter, we would say so; and if I had participated as a decoy in a taxi cab incident I would say so. However, I would like to tell you not to rely solely on my analysis that the August 7th and the Oakland and California State Political Police are one in the same, but instead, just take a look for yourselves. Ask yourselves of the extent to which the police state will go to discredit revolutionaries by labeling all street violence as revolutionary activity and by issuing nothing but threatening communications and then saying that such threats were coming from revolutionaries. It isn't just coincidence that the week the August 7th issued an idle threat against the life of prison official Procunier, was the same week that the California legislature re-instated the death penalty.

The house in Concord, Calif. was a Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence headquarters, nothing more. The house was set on fire by me only to melt away any fingerprints that may have been overlooked. It never was intended that the fire would totally destroy the premises, because there was nothing left there that was of any real consequence to us, nor was there any material left behind that could negate the functioning ability of the SLA to carry on the struggle. The reports that mass armaments were found in that house is a lie. It is an attempt to frame my 2 comrade brothers and it is an assertion to cover up the fact that there were no weapons



GOOD FAITH

and is said that Mr. Hearst wants to save his department to save all the children and people. In an effort to save all the children and people, we are asking for the gesture of good faith from this representative of the state. Each person with one of the following can be given \$70.00 worth of meat, vegetables, and fruit: all people with welfare cards, social security cards, food stamp cards, disabled veteran cards, parole or probation papers, and jail or bail cards. That all those with such cards have time, and are forced to stand waiting in long lines, the time for the distribution of this food must extend over a four week period starting February 19th, on each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday for four successive weeks, each person with one of the above cards can go to publicized stores and pick up their

stores where people can go are to be clearly designated and published in each of the communities listed and they are to be within easy access to the people of those communities. There must be at least 5 distribution points within each community; distribution points should be major stores within the community, we suggest such stores as Safeway and

meat, vegetables, and dairy products must be of good quality, and in ample supply during all store hours.

Exemptions If you are not receiving your food, all you have to do is voice your discontent in the streets, at movie theatres, etc. and we will hear about you. If you are facing any interference from the police or the way of harassment should voice their protest. The people's army calls upon community groups such as Nairobi College in East Palo Alto, Gibbs Street Church in San Francisco, and The Black Panther Party, The National Welfare Rights Organization, United Farm Workers, AIM, Third World Women's Alliance, United Prisoner's Union, as well as representatives from people's news services like Guttering Together, Kalayan, Triple Jeopardy, Black Panther Party, The Anvil, and others to act as liaisons and coordinators to see to it that the aged, disabled receive their food and ways to transport it. They are to see to it that no police-state tactics are used in or out of uniform, are allowed to be in the way of food distribution, a photograph or harass the

in each of the following cities or communities distribution points:

PATRICIAN

DATE - FEB 19 1970
To those who would hear the voice and desire of our people let the voice of their guns speak the words of freedom. We pledge to the people and fellow comrades brothers and sisters. My name is Cin-Quinn and to my comrades I am known as Cin. I am a Black man and a representative of Black people. I hold the rank of General Field Marshall in the United Federation of Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Today I have received an order from the Symbionese War Council, the Court of the People, to the effect that I am ordered to convey the following message in behalf of the SLA and to insert a typed word of comfort and verification that Patricia Campbell Hearst is alive and safe.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is composed of many military/political elements of many different liberation struggles and of many different races. Our unified purpose is to liberate the oppressed people of this nation and to aid other oppressed people around the world in their struggle against racist imperialism and the robbery of their freedom and homeland.

Since this is the purpose and goal of the SLA, it is therefore clear to us, as it will be to all oppressed people, that our mission is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves, since the people shall always come first in our hearts and souls.

Since this is the purpose and goal of the SLA, it is therefore clear to us, as it will be to all oppressed people, that our mission is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves, since the people shall always come first in our hearts and souls.

and Chomopolis. I think, a TV and radio station empire to create the nation with production of propaganda films for high national and international use.

Fourth, ownership of vast areas of real estate in the United States and Mexico; forests, farmland and cattle ranches. All of this is directly connected to Washington and the corporate dictatorship of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

...the Hearst family accountable for their crimes...

That is to say that the Hearst empire is one of the empires of the ruling class and whose interests serve the rich and who is directly connected with the interests of the people. Therefore, they are enemies of the people.

Mrs. Randolph A. Hearst is a member of the University of California Board of Regents, and is responsible along with others appointed by Governor Ronald Reagan for the looting of funds and the involvement of our California tax money in corporations which have interest and do gain profit from the robbery, oppression and racism which our government and its agents are engaged in.

to assist and according to the plan of our action by the oppressed people against any company or institution that oppressor to regain their freedom and liberty and to give life to their children and people.

It is therefore the directive of this court that before any form of negotiations for the release of the subject prisoners be initiated, that an action of good faith be shown on the part of the Hearst family to allow the court and the oppressed people of this world and this nation to ascertain as to the real interests and cooperative attitude of the Hearst family, and in so doing show some form of respect for the murder and suffering they have caused and profited from. Add this good faith gesture is to be in the form of a token gesture to the oppressed people and the corporate state in releasing and removing their rights to freedom and liberty.

This gesture is to be in the form of food to the needy and the unemployed, and to which the following instructions are directed to be followed to the letter. In closing, and speaking personally for myself, and as a father of 5 children, I wish to say to Mr. Hearst and Mrs. Hearst that I, as well as the three under my command, by the authority of the Court of the People, are not average killers and robbers and we do hold a high moral value to life. We value life very deeply and wish all the spirit out of us as human beings and being free in our hearts. Speaking as a father, I am quite willing to lose both my children, if by any action I could save thousands of white, black, yellow and red children.

forms to give

who the Hearst

OUT

SIX

and racist govt's

... (Watts, Compton, East Los Angeles)

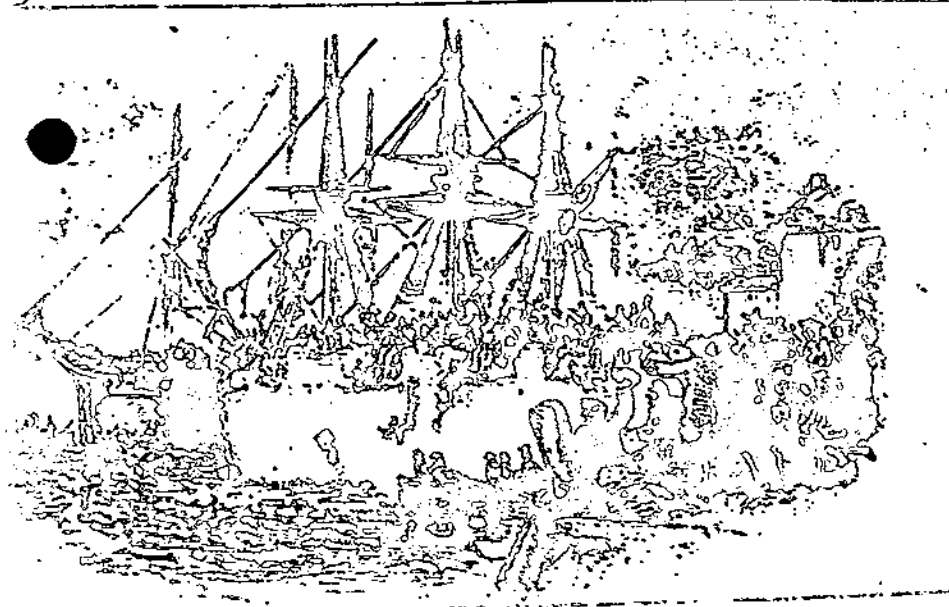
... showing the emblem and meaning of ... authorities shall be placed in newspapers ... forms of the media in its exact form, not ... any area.

... these stated documents, along with a full ... the tape enclosed recorded by myself and Pat ... to be distributed to the media for publi-

... media is warned that all attempts to mislead ... the public by withholding or omitting ser- ... the tape or S.L.A. documents, jeopardizes the ...

... of good faith to not act then we will ... in good faith and spirit's ...

S.L.A.



... the ... of the ... military ... of the ... live under in this nation. The ... of this ... to ... and ... the ... to ... the American People from ... the ... which ... and ...

This ... of propaganda and ... has succeeded in hiding ... from the people. That ... this nation has ... its ... corporate coup and that the ... which come of us still ... has been overthrown.

The ... Hearst Corporation is composed of, firstly, a ... newspaper syndicate which includes the San Francisco ... and Chronicle and others ... to as far away as New York and Philadelphia. Secondly, a ... magazine monopoly composed of over 13 publications which include, for example, House Beautiful, Har- per's Bazaar, Town and Country

... the ... of the ... 70,000 Black children a year ... from ... against ... White people of Ireland, ... U.S. trained British ... about ... in the ... Irish ... and ... as U.S. ... tear gas ... Irish children as their ... and brothers ... in British ... against the ... where United States ... puppet soldiers use U.S. - ... to attempt to burn ... the spirit of freedom ... the hearts and souls of the poor and starving.

The UC Board of Regents, one of California's largest foreign investors, supports, through its investments, the murder of thousands of Black men, women and children of Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia; murders designed to destroy ... and ...

With all these crimes placed before the Board of Regents and Mrs. Hearst, with all the pleas from the people to stop supporting these corporations, and the murder of thousands of men, women and children, the Board and Mrs. Hearst did not raise one voice in protest or refuse to be a party to these crimes committed against these people and these corporations against the American people.

For these acts and others, the Court of the People holds the Hearst family accountable for their crimes and holds that they are enemies of the people.

We of the ... Liberation Army hold that the Hearst Corporation and the Hearst family and the Board of Regents as well as the corporate state which they support and aid are enemies of the people and, as such, that the people have the moral and human right and duty

... the ... of the ... to ... the ... of every ... And I ... along with the loyal men and women of many races who love the people, ... to willing to give our lives to ... the people at any cost.

And if, as you and others so ... believe that we will lose, let it be known that even in death we will win, for the very ashes of this fascist nation will mark our very graves.

Patricia: "I'm in a ... Combat unit that's

armed with automatic weapons."

(Begin voice alleged to be Patricia Hearst):

Mom, Dad, I'm okay. I had a few scrapes and stuff but they've washed them up and they're getting okay. I caught a cold but they're giving me pills for it and so I'm not being starved or beaten or unnecessarily frightened. I've heard some press reports and so I know that Steve and all the neighbors are okay and that no one was really hurt.

I also know that the SLA members here are very upset about press distortions of what's been happening. They have nothing to do with the August 7th movement and they have not been shooting down helicopters or shooting down innocent people in the streets.

I'm kept blindfolded usually so that I can't identify anyone. My hands are often tied but generally they're not. I'm not gagged or anything and I'm comfortable, and I think you can tell that I'm not really terrified or anything. I'm okay.

I was very upset, though, to

OUT

STOP ACTING LIKE I'M DEAD

PATTY'S SECOND TAPE

Dad, Mom, I'm making this tape to let you know that I'm still OK and to explain a few things, I hope.

First about the good faith gesture. There was some misunderstanding about that and you should do what you can and they understand that you want to meet their demands and that...they have every intention that you should be able to meet their demands.

They weren't trying to present an unreasonable request. It was never intended that you feed the whole state.

So whatever you come up with basically is okay.

And just do it as fast as you can and everything will be fine.

But the SLA is really mad about certain attempts to make the feeding of food be the receiving of goods that were gotten by extortion.

They don't want people to be harassed by the police or by anybody else, and I hope you can do something about that and if you can't, well, I mean they'll do something about it. So...you shouldn't worry about that too much.

Also, I would like to emphasize that I am alive and that I am not being starved or treated badly. I am not being starved or treated badly. I am not being starved or treated badly.

to think, I mean I'm fine.

It's really depressing to hear people talk about me like I'm dead. I can't explain what that's like. What it does, also is that it...it begins to convince other people that maybe I am dead.

If everybody is convinced that I am dead, well then it gives the FBI an excuse to come in here and try to pull me out. I'm sure that Mr. Bates understands that if the FBI has to come in and get me out by force that they won't have time to decide who not to kill. They'll just have to kill everyone.

I don't particularly want to die that way.

I hope you will realize that everything is okay and that they'll just have to back off for a while. There'll be plenty of time for investigating later.

I am basically an example and a symbolic warning, not only to you but to everyone, that there are people who are not going to accept your support of other governments and that faced with suppression and murder of the people...and that this is a warning to everybody.

It is also to show what can be done. When it's necessary, the people can take action. I hope that you and Mom will be able to do that.

to happen this way to make people see that there are people who stand for.

Now maybe something can be done about that, so that things like this won't have to happen again.

Also, the SLA is very annoyed about attempts by the press and by authorities to turn this into a racial issue. It's not. This is a political issue and this is a political action that they've taken.

Anyone who really reads the stated objectives of the SLA can see very clearly that this is not a racial thing. I hope there won't be any more confusion about that.

I turned over my notes there, so...

I am being held as a prisoner of war and not as anything else and I'm being treated in accordance with the international codes of war. And so you shouldn't listen or believe what anybody else says about the way I'm being treated. This is the way I'm being treated. I'm not left alone and I'm not just shoved off. I mean, I am fine.

I am not being starved and I am not being treated badly. I am not being starved and I am not being treated badly. I am not being starved and I am not being treated badly.

really important that everybody understand that I am an example and a warning. And because of this, it's very important to the SLA that I return safely. So people should stop acting like I'm dead.

Mom should get out of her black dress. That doesn't help at all.

I wish you'd try to understand the position I'm in. I'm right in the middle, and I have to depend upon what all kinds of other people are going to do.

And it's really hard for me to hear about reports, you know, and...I hope you understand and try to do something.

I know that a lot of people have written and everyone is concerned about me and my safety and about what you're going through, and I want them all to know that I'm okay.

And it's important for them to understand that I'll be okay as long as the SLA demands are met, and as long as the two prisoners at San Quentin are OK.

And as long as the FBI doesn't come in here.

That is my biggest worry. I think I can get out of here alive as long as they don't come busting in and I really think you should understand what the SLA

does have an interest in my return.

And try not to worry so much and just do what you can. I mean, I know you're doing everything.

Take care of Steve and hurry. Bye.

On Wednesday, Solzhenitsyn was exiled to West Germany.

FEB 13, 1974

This is General Field Marshal Cin speaking. We wish to clarify what your daughter has said about our request for a good faith gesture on your part. The people are awaiting your gesture. You may rest assured that we are quite able to assess the extent of your sincerity in this matter and we will accept a sincere effort on your part.

We are quite able and aware of the extent of your capabilities as we are also aware of the needs of the people.

Death to the fascist insect that preys upon the life of the people!

DATE APRIL 1968

I would like to begin this letter by saying that I have never been forced to have I been threatened in any way except the way I want it. I want it.

Mom, Dad, I would like to say to you that I am not a communist or a socialist. I am a person who is giving my life to the people. I was playing a game which the FBI was trying to stop. I was and the SLA officers which guarded me. I continued to report that you did everything to me to prove the way for negotiations for my release. I do believe that you could have been so unimaginative as to not even have considered getting (Russell) Little and (Joseph) Remiro released on bail (both were SLA captives held for the murder of Senator Morris Foster). While it was repeatedly stated that my conditions would at all times correspond with those of the captured soldiers, when your own lawyer went to inspect the "hole" at San Geronimo, he approved the deplorable conditions there - another move which potentially jeopardized my safety. My mother's acceptance of the appointment to a secret term as a U.C. agent, as you well know, would have caused my immediate execution had the SLA been less than "together" about their political goals. Your actions have taught me a great lesson, and in a strange kind of way, I'm grateful to you.

Steven (Steven Thomas - aka Kenneth Sinden), I know that you are beginning to realize that there is no such thing as neutrality in time of war. There can be no compromise in your experience with the FBI must have shown you. You have been harassed by the FBI because of your supposed connections with so-called radicals, and some people have even gone so far as to suggest that I arranged my own arrest. We both know what really came down that Monday night (February 6 - the day of the riot) - but you don't know what's happened since then. I have changed - grown. I've become conscious and can now go back to the life we led before. What I'm saying may sound cold to you and to my old friends, but love doesn't keep the same thing to me anymore. My love has expanded as a result of my experiences to embrace all people. It's grown into an unselfish love for my comrades here, in prison and on the streets. A love that comes from the knowledge that no one is free until we are all free. While I wish that you could be a comrade, I don't expect it - all I expect is that you try to understand the changes I've gone through.

Liberation Army. I am not a communist or a socialist. I am a person who is giving my life to the people. I was playing a game which the FBI was trying to stop. I was and the SLA officers which guarded me. I continued to report that you did everything to me to prove the way for negotiations for my release. I do believe that you could have been so unimaginative as to not even have considered getting (Russell) Little and (Joseph) Remiro released on bail (both were SLA captives held for the murder of Senator Morris Foster). While it was repeatedly stated that my conditions would at all times correspond with those of the captured soldiers, when your own lawyer went to inspect the "hole" at San Geronimo, he approved the deplorable conditions there - another move which potentially jeopardized my safety. My mother's acceptance of the appointment to a secret term as a U.C. agent, as you well know, would have caused my immediate execution had the SLA been less than "together" about their political goals. Your actions have taught me a great lesson, and in a strange kind of way, I'm grateful to you.

Tyrona Guston, a 11-year-old, black - was shot in North last October by Emoryville police officers.

Dad, you said that you were concerned with my life, and you also said that you were concerned with the life and interests of all oppressed people in this country. But you are a liar in both areas and as a member of the ruling class, I know for sure that your and Mom's interests are never the interests of the people. Dad, you said you would see about getting more job opportunities for the people, but why haven't you? What is going to happen to them - that actually the few jobs they still have will be taken away.

You, a corporate liar, of course, will say that you don't know what I am talking about, but I ask you then to prove it. Tell the poor and oppressed people of this nation what the corporate state is about to do: warn black and poor people that they are about to be murdered down to the last man, woman and child. If you're so interested in the people why don't you tell them what the energy crisis really is. Tell them how it's nothing more than a manufactured strategy, a way of hiding industry's real intentions. Tell the people that the energy crisis is nothing more than a means to get public approval for a massive program to build nuclear power plants all over the nation. Tell the people that the entire corporate state is, with the aid of this massive power supply, about to totally automate the entire industrial state, to the point that in the next five years all that will be needed will be a small class of button pushers: tell the people, Dad, that all of the lower class and at least half of the middle class will be unemployed in the next three years, and that the removal of expendable excess, the removal of unwanted people has already started.

I should have known. I should have known that the corporate state is about to do: warn black and poor people that they are about to be murdered down to the last man, woman and child. If you're so interested in the people why don't you tell them what the energy crisis really is. Tell them how it's nothing more than a manufactured strategy, a way of hiding industry's real intentions. Tell the people that the energy crisis is nothing more than a means to get public approval for a massive program to build nuclear power plants all over the nation. Tell the people that the entire corporate state is, with the aid of this massive power supply, about to totally automate the entire industrial state, to the point that in the next five years all that will be needed will be a small class of button pushers: tell the people, Dad, that all of the lower class and at least half of the middle class will be unemployed in the next three years, and that the removal of expendable excess, the removal of unwanted people has already started.

I should have known. I should have known that the corporate state is about to do: warn black and poor people that they are about to be murdered down to the last man, woman and child. If you're so interested in the people why don't you tell them what the energy crisis really is. Tell them how it's nothing more than a manufactured strategy, a way of hiding industry's real intentions. Tell the people that the energy crisis is nothing more than a means to get public approval for a massive program to build nuclear power plants all over the nation. Tell the people that the entire corporate state is, with the aid of this massive power supply, about to totally automate the entire industrial state, to the point that in the next five years all that will be needed will be a small class of button pushers: tell the people, Dad, that all of the lower class and at least half of the middle class will be unemployed in the next three years, and that the removal of expendable excess, the removal of unwanted people has already started.

I have been given the name Tania after a comrade who fought along side Cha (Guevara) in Bolivia for the people of Bolivia. I embrace the name with the determination to continue fighting with her spirit. There is no victory in half-hearted attempts at revolution. I know Tania dedicated her life to the people. Fighting with total dedication and an intense desire to learn, which I will continue in the oppressed American people's revolution. All colors of skin in the web of humanity years for freedom.

Orville (Russell Little) and Bo (Joseph Remiro), even though we have never met I feel like I know you, finding out about you and I'm fighting with your freedom and the freedom of all prisoners in mind. In the atrocious jobs that you do, you are pillars of strength to me. If I'm falling down, I think of you, of where you are and why you are there, and my determination grows stronger. It's good to see that your spirits are so high in spite of the terrible conditions. Even though you aren't here, you are with other strong comrades, and the three of us are learning together - I, in an environment of love and you in one of hate, in the belly of the fascist beast. We have grown closer to the people and become stronger through our experiences. I have learned how vicious the pig really is, and our comrades are teaching me to attack with even greater viciousness, in the knowledge that the people will win. I send greetings to Death Row Jeff, Al Taylor and Raymond Scott (all convicts in State penal institutions). Your concern for my safety is matched by my concern for yours. We share a common goal as revolutionaries knowing that Comrade George lives.

It is in the spirit of Tania that I say, PATRIA O MUERTE.

and have reached a new nothing, as our sisters have rushed by us into battle.

We have fooled ourselves into believing that madison avenue pig-gery will bring us eternal bourgeois happiness. If we haven't brought into the racist, sexist, capitalist, imperialist program, we have "greened-out" in Mendocino and New Hampshire. To Black people, who lead our struggle to freedom, we have proved to be the racist punks of the world, when we lick-back and live off the blood and lives of the people.

Remember many of us have seen through this sham, and are fighting beside comrades from all classes, women and men, old and young. We know we have a long way to go to purify our minds of the many bourgeois goisons, but we also know that this isn't done through bullshitting and as the Comrade has taught us -- by "stabbing the pig, seizing him by the tusks and riding his pig into his grave." It is done by unleashing the most devastating revolutionary violence ever imagined, by proving that all races and groups of people can unite and fight together for the true freedom of us all.

When we call on the people to join us in the fight for freedom, many of you wonder how you can join the SLA, feeling that joining materially, with those who are already fighting, will provide the only way you need to justify risk to our lives. But we soldiers in the SLA say to this mistaken reasoning, that you must read again our Declaration of Revolutionary War and Terms of Military/Political Alliance. The SLA came into being because many people refused to wait for so-called revolutionary groups and organizations to lead them into a revolution which would, therefore, never come.

We grew tired of waiting for mythological North American revolutionaries with the necessary expertise and skills we lacked, to reach us. We have learned much from many brave revolutionary women and men, but in reality we are fighting today because we, ourselves, have seized the weapons.

We have seized the weapons, and we have reached a new nothing, as our sisters have rushed by us into battle. We have fooled ourselves into believing that madison avenue pig-gery will bring us eternal bourgeois happiness. If we haven't brought into the racist, sexist, capitalist, imperialist program, we have "greened-out" in Mendocino and New Hampshire. To Black people, who lead our struggle to freedom, we have proved to be the racist punks of the world, when we lick-back and live off the blood and lives of the people.

Remember that the SLA was born from the spirit of the people. The SLA is the PEOPLE'S ARMY and we fight in their interests. The SLA will never compromise. The SLA will not allow the enemy live to deceive us into passively accepting genocide.

LISTEN and WATCH and let that spirit become your name. Love to our sisters & brothers in prisons; courage & faith to our two captured soldiers; greetings to all oppressed peoples; may we connect.

My name is Fahizah. The SLA is taking these opportunities to speak with the people now, because we have been having a temporary period of inactivity, while waiting for the completion of our unit's last action. We know that the people want far more than 6 million dollars of food; & we will continue to fight for the total liberation of all oppressed peoples by the only means available, that is force of arms.

The Court of the People has issued The Codes of War of the Symbionese Liberation Army. I wish to state that Clayton Munroe is the General Field Marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army, as well as chairman of the United Symbionese War Council.

Cinque Mune is a Black brother who spent many years of his life in fascist Amerikkka's concentration camps; many years in prison cells & many years in prison cells. Cinque met literally thousands of Black, Brown, Red, Yellow & White freedom fighters while he was locked down, courageous Comrade George Jackson was one among them. The spirit of all the brothers Cinque knows, lives in him now, and the spirit of all the sisters that Cinque never had the opportunity to meet, lives in him now.

The revolutionary process in which we are engaged involves the constant redefining of thought, word, and action. We must deal with all the conditions outside ourselves which oppress and enslave us, and we must deal with the enemy within; we must deal with both these diseases simultaneously, and with an unrelenting commitment and understanding that in reality we are not living to die, but rather all who choose to fight to the death are dying to live. Cin's example to the people has taught us that his actions and by his own words, that he or she who is scared and seeks to run from death will find it, but she or he who is NOT AFRAID and who actively seeks death, will find it NOT AT THEIR DOOR.

We embrace the concepts of art and spiritual consciousness in material relevant terms, based upon the common conditions of all oppressed peoples. We have begun to redefine art as the natural creative reflection of our desperate struggle to survive. Art for us is the total process of sharing and communally using what we learn in order to live and to fight. We recognize Cin as an artist; for what he teaches the people, but we

Comrades in struggle, there is a high price that we have paid and will pay, for our mistakes, and there is an even higher price which we have been paying for the loss of our leaders. We are speaking to the people now, because we all know that we cannot afford the loss of another leader; and we want the people to know that in spite of the enemy's technology and prestige of terror, we have a leader that loves the people, and lives and fights for the people. His example helps to create a love among comrades that gives attention, appreciation, care and protection -- from each brother and sister to the other.

The oppressed peoples of this nation, have and will continue to bring forth their leaders, prophets & fighters until they are free. The people have at last

what they want to do, and they are bringing you nothing but a wet face and an empty heart, the enemy is not a god he is human, and he is oppressed. If you would have freedom for your children and the people, then you, as all oppressed people, will have to fight for it. Freedom is not predictable, nor is it willing to be placed of paper can sign it over to you or your children, it is something that, in an oppressive world, can only be gained and protected by the force of your arms and your spirit to defend that freedom at any cost.

To the people and combat forces of the people, business of the revolution: The following are enemies of the people, they are agents of the enemy and have been found guilty of working and informing to the enemy against the people and death warrants have been issued by this court against them and they should be shot on sight by any of the people's forces:

Robin Steiner: female, white, age 20, hazel eyes, brown hair, 5'4", wears contact lenses, 115 pounds, past resident of Berkeley, now living in Florida, an informer to the FBI.

Chris Thompson: male, black, brown eyes, black hair, 6'3", Berkeley resident, is a government agent, paid informant for the FBI.

Colston Westcott: male, black, age 35, brown eyes, brown hair, 5'8", 210 pounds, Berkeley language instructor, resident of Oakland, is a government agent, worked for CIA in Vietnam as interrogator and torturer in Phoenix operation and also served same purposes in other foreign countries, now working for military intelligence, while giving cross assistance to the FBI.

These subjects are to be shot on sight, wherever found, and at any time.

Concerning the Hearst operation: the government dictatorship, as well as the Hearst Empire, has shown that they are quite willing to murder even their own, to maintain power over the people; therefore it is the duty of the people to

what they want to do, and they are bringing you nothing but a wet face and an empty heart, the enemy is not a god he is human, and he is oppressed. If you would have freedom for your children and the people, then you, as all oppressed people, will have to fight for it. Freedom is not predictable, nor is it willing to be placed of paper can sign it over to you or your children, it is something that, in an oppressive world, can only be gained and protected by the force of your arms and your spirit to defend that freedom at any cost.

I send you my love, and I am in your determination to carry on the struggle, even from that side of the wall, as we will NEVER relent from this end. In this way we do expect to meet again.

I would also like to take this opportunity to speak to my six lovely black babies, Victor, Damon, Sherry, Sherlyne, Dawn, and Dada. I want you to know that, to just say your names again fills my heart with joy, I want you to know that I love you all, with all the love that a father can have for those so dear to him; and I want you to understand also, that I have not forgotten my promise to you, that whenever you needed me, I would be there at your side, and so, I am now, even when you may not see me, I am there; because no matter where I am, I'm fighting for your freedom, your future and your life!

Daddy wants you to understand that I can't come home because you and the people are not free and as long as the enemy exists, I can find no rest, nor any hope, for you or our people as a whole. I can't be happy when the enemy murders the children of other fathers and mothers, who must stay home, or who have not the courage to fight or the clear understanding yet, that the greatest gift they give their children is FREEDOM.

So, to you my children, even though I may never see you again, know that I love you and will not, for any price, forsake your freedom and the freedom of all oppressed peoples. To you I tell that a father could wish, I give you love with a future, an understanding that the price of freedom is daring to struggle, daring to win.

In ending this letter to you, I send only one thing to you all, that is, promise me that you will always honor the people and love the children and defend them both, at any price, against the enemy.

In closing, I will play the national anthem of the Symbionese

I would love you

We have fought ourselves into believing that freedom is something you win by your own efforts. We have fought into the racist, sexist, capitalist, imperialist program, we have "freed" ourselves in Mississippi and New Hampshire. We Black people, who lead our struggle to freedom, we have proved to be the racist guards of the world, when we kick back and live off the blood and lives of the people.

However many of us have seen through this sham, and are fighting beside comrades from all races and classes, women and men, old and young. We know we have a long way to go to purify our minds of the many bourgeois poisonings, but we also know that this isn't done through bullshitting and lying as the Comrade has taught us -- by "stalking the pig, seizing him by the tusks and riding his pig into his grave." It is done by unleashing the most devastating revolutionary violence ever imagined, by proving that all races and groups of people can unite and fight together for the true freedom of us all.

When we call on the people to join us in the fight for freedom, many of you wonder how you can join the SLA, feeling that joining materially, with those who are already fighting, will provide the security you need to justify risking your lives. But we soldiers in the SLA say to this mistaken reasoning, that you must read again our Declaration of Revolutionary War and Terms of Military/Political Alliance. The SLA came into being because many people refused to wait for so-called revolutionary groups and organizations to lead them into a revolution which could, therefore, never come.

We grew tired of waiting for mythological North American revolutionaries with the necessary expertise and skills we lacked, to teach us. We have learned much from many brave revolutionary women and men, but in reality we are fighting today because we, ourselves, have seized the moment, torn ourselves, developed inco-

disguise of revolutionaries. They will do anything to stop the rising of the people, including killing their own kind and attacking the peoples' forces, under the pretence of a race war.

Remember that the SLA was born from the spirit of the people. The SLA is the PEOPLE'S ARMY and we fight in their interests. The SLA will never compromise. The SLA will not allow the enemy to deceive us into passively accepting genocide.

LISTEN and WATCH and let that spirit become your name. Love to our sisters & brothers in prisons; courage & faith to our two captured soldiers; greetings to all oppressed peoples; may we connect.

My name is Fabrizio. The SLA is taking these opportunities to speak with the people now, because we have been having a temporary period of inactivity, while waiting for the completion of our unit's last action. We know that the people want for more than 6 million dollars of food; & we will continue to fight for the total liberation of all oppressed peoples by the only means available, that is force of arms.

The Court of the People has issued The Code of War of the Symbionese Liberation Army. I wish to state that Cinque Mume is the General Field Marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Forces, as well as chairman of the United Symbionese War Council.

Cinque Mume is a Black brother who spent many years of his life in fascist America's concentration camps; manchild years in prison cells & man years in prison cells. Cinque met literally thousands of Black, Brown, Red, Yellow & White freedom fighters while he was locked down, courageous Comrade George Jackson was one among them. The spirit of all the brothers Cinque knows lives in him now, and the spirit of all the sisters that Cinque never had the opportunity to meet, but knows by common bond -- like

in which we are engaged involves the constant redefining of thought, word, and action. We must deal with all the conditions outside ourselves which oppress and enslave us, and we must deal with the enemy within; we must deal with both these diseases simultaneously, and with an unrelenting commitment and understanding that in reality we are not living to die, but rather all who choose to fight to the death are dying to live. Cin's example to the people has taught us that his actions and by his own words, that he or she who is scared and seeks to run from death will find it, but she or he who is NOT AFRAID and who actively seeks death out, will find it NOT AT THEIR DOOR.

We embrace the concepts of art and spiritual consciousness in material relevant terms, based upon the common conditions of all oppressed peoples. We have begun to redefine art as the natural creative reflection of our desperate struggle to survive. Art for us is the total process of sharing and communally using what we learn in order to live and to fight. We recognize Cin as an artist, for what he teaches the people, but we

Comrades in struggle, there is a high price that we have paid and will pay, for our mistakes, and there is an even higher price which we have been paying for the loss of our leaders. We are speaking to the people now, because we all know that we cannot afford the loss of another leader; and we want the people to know that in spite of the enemy's technology and prestige of terror, we have a leader that loves the people, and lives and fights for the people. This example helps to create a love among comrades that gives attention, appreciation, care and protection -- from each brother and sister to the other.

The oppressed peoples of this nation, have and will continue to bring forth their leaders, prophets & fighters until they are free. The people brought forth Malcolm X, who came to unite the people and warn the enemy what

the enemy will do to them. The enemy will do anything to stop the rising of the people, including killing their own kind and attacking the peoples' forces, under the pretence of a race war. We must deal with all the conditions outside ourselves which oppress and enslave us, and we must deal with the enemy within; we must deal with both these diseases simultaneously, and with an unrelenting commitment and understanding that in reality we are not living to die, but rather all who choose to fight to the death are dying to live. Cin's example to the people has taught us that his actions and by his own words, that he or she who is scared and seeks to run from death will find it, but she or he who is NOT AFRAID and who actively seeks death out, will find it NOT AT THEIR DOOR.

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Robin Slater: female, white, age 20, hazel eyes, brown hair, 5'4", wears contact lenses, 115 pounds, past resident of Berkeley, now living in Florida, an informer to the FBI.

Chris Thompson: male, black, brown eyes, black hair, 6'3", Berkeley resident, is a government agent, paid informant for the FBI.

Colston Westbrook: male, black, age 35, brown eyes, brown hair, 5'8", 210 pounds, Berkeley language instructor, resident of Oakland, is a government agent, worked for CIA in Vietnam as interrogator and torturer in Phoenix operation and also served same purposes in other foreign countries, now working for military intelligence, while giving cross assistance to the FBI.

These subjects are to be shot on sight, wherever found, and at any time.

Concerning the Hearst operation: the government dictatorship, as well as the Hearst Empire, has shown that they are quite willing to murder even their own, to maintain power over the people therefore it is the judgment of this court, that in the future, NO games of the ruling class or its executive agents will be taken

carry on. I want you to be just say your names ago heart with joy, I want, that I love you all, with that a father can have to dear to him; and I want understand also, that I have gotten my promise to whenever you needed me, I am there; because where I am, I'm fighter freedom, your future life!

Daddy wants you to know that I can't come home, you and the people as long as the enemy can find no rest, nor can you or our people or I can't be happy when I murders the children of theirs and mothers, who home, or who have not to fight or the clear and yet, that the greatest gift their children is FREEDOM.

So, to you my child, though I may never see you, know that I love you as for any price, for freedom and the freedom oppressed peoples. To you that a father could wish life without love and I give you my love and understanding that freedom is daring to win.

In ending this letter to only one thing of you I promise me that you honor the people and children and defend the any price, against the enemy.

In closing, I will national anthem of the Symbionese Liberation Army: PEOPLE - FREE THE AND SAVE THE COUNTRY

ego-tripping
but by
acting

no
star

"Only the Berkeley Daily, it appears, come to the SLA defense." -- San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 21, 1974.

Perhaps Examiner writer Carol Pogash said that because Earl writers tried to understand where the SLA was coming from, and because only the Daily was already publishing complete texts of SLA communiques -- long before Ms. Hearst was liberated from her Berkeley pad.

Because we still want Earl readers to have access to all the SLA's words in printed form, we continue to publish complete transcripts of their tapes.

Here is the text of the tape received by Pacifica station KPFK in Los Angeles on June 7.

DATE - JUNE 13, 1974
Voice identified as Teko (William Harris):

To those who would bear the hopes and future of our people, let the voice of their guns express the words of freedom.

Greetings to the people, the Black Liberation Army, the United People's Army, the Black Guerilla Family, the Weather Underground and all freedom fighters of the United Symbionese Federation and the New World Liberation Front.

This is Teko speaking. Yolanda, Tania and I extend profound feelings of Revolutionary love and solidarity to General Field Marshall Cobilla and all soldiers of the United People's Liberation Army; to Dan [redacted] Commander and all elements of the Anti-Aircraft Forces of the SLA; to Combat Unit #4 of the Black Liberation Army; to comrade Martin Sostre and all other comrades brothers and sisters in Amerika's concentration camps.

To our beloved comrades-in-arms, Orceola and Ed, we echo the words you have often left us with: "A Luta Continua... Venceremos."

We have come together in many different cells, squads and military/political units. We have taken many different meaningful names. But we are not hung up on names, for, as comrades-in-arms, we are in our struggle for freedom.

A Combat Unit of the SLA more sent out to buy a number of items needed by the unit. At Mel's Sporting Goods Store in Inglewood, a pig-agent clerk named Tony Shepard, attempting to show his allegiance to his reactionary white bosses, falsely accused me of shoplifting. It was impossible to allow a verifying search by a store security guard because I was armed, and therefore we were forced to fight our way out of the situation.

The pigs originally said that a 49¢ pair of socks were stolen, and that this was what caused the shootout at the store. The people found this very difficult to believe when it was pointed out that we had already purchased over \$30 worth of heavy wool socks and other items. This, apparently, became increasingly confusing to the pigs, who later charged that an ammunition bandolier was the item taken, supposedly to make the accusation more believable.

The policy of the Symbionese Liberation Army has always been to avoid shoplifting, because of the heavy risk involved to the whole unit. We cannot afford to have soldiers busted on hunch charges. However, we realize that the combat and support elements run a great risk of being jammed whenever we move about aboveground. The most unfortunate aspect of this situation was that the pigs then learned that SLA elements were in the Los Angeles area. It appears that even with this knowledge, the pigs would not have located our comrades if a collaborator named Mary Corr had not snitched to the enemy.

On Friday, May 17, 1974, a CIA-directed force of FBI agents, Los Angeles City, County and California State pigs, with air support and reserve assistance from the United States Marine Corps and the National Guard, encircled elements of the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The result of the encirclement was that the people witnessed on live television the burning to death of six of their most beautiful and competent

fighters -- a revolutionary, a doctor, a writer and a hygienist.

The pigs want the people to believe that General Field Marshall Cinque Miume committed suicide. To this contrary, the SLA responds by asking our beloved comrade brother. He often said: "We must not fear death, for to fear death is to put our fear of pig terror before our love of the children and the people's struggle for freedom. The pigs have historically failed in eliminating Black leaders. They have been murdered and imprisoned in Amerika's concentration camps. For over a year, the pigs couldn't find Cin to murder him, so they attempted to isolate him from the people with propaganda. First they tarred on the most blatantly racist Whites with their traditional "crazy, Black - nigger, escaped convict-rapist" routine. Next, we learned that Cin was a pig wine alcoholic. This obviously was the white racist, liberal answer to the logic that a Black revolutionary leader could order and assist in the assassination of a five-armed pig-agent school superintendent.

It followed that the white supremacists and bourgeois Black elements of the revolutionary left so-called leadership would be jammed with ridiculous tales of links between the SLA and the CIA -- that Cin was not had been a pig informant for the Los Angeles Police Department and the California Attorney General's office. If this were true, we dare these fools and collaborators to explain Cin's reward for his

work. Artists came, like a Black middle and upper-middle class Whites and daughter of a pig-fascist ruling class family, would ever have reason to follow the lead of a beautiful, Black pentagon, revolutionary warrior and give their lives for the people. Sick-assed racists would have as believe that White women who follow the lead of Black revolutionaries are only mindless, cunts enslaved by gigantic Black penises.

The cringing pigs who faced the fire-power of Geline, Gabi, Fahizah and Zoya know much better.

Racists believe that it is impossible for White men to denounce White racism and follow the revolutionary leadership of Black men, but the SLA proved this theory to be a sick delusion. Cinque Miume, himself, was the spirit of Frederick Douglass, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, Marissa Carvey, the Scottsborough Boys, Medgar Evers, William E. Burdard DeBois, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Emmett Till, Bobby Nutton, Fred Hampton, L.D. Barkley, Jonathan and George L. Jackson, Mark Essex and every other Black freedom fighter who came before him.

To racist shander, the SLA and all the people say: Death to the Fascist Insect that Preys Upon the Life of the People. CAPS

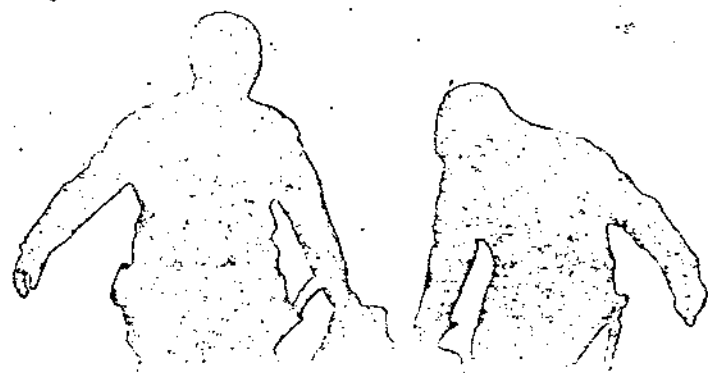
And now, after our comrade brother fought valiantly against a battalion of pigs -- a battle witnessed by millions -- these same chicken-shit pigs are trying to have us believe that General

Liberation Army. The pigs would have the best of a pig-fascist political world. The pigs have won a battle, but the war of the sea is not over. As our dear comrade Ho Chi Minh once wrote from an imperialist prison, "Today, the local fight is the elephant, but tomorrow the elephant will be disembowed."

Greetings and profound love to the people, to all comrades-in-arms, to all comrades in concentration camps in fascist Amerika, and to all the children. This is Yolanda speaking.

When we say revolution, we do not use the word loosely. By revolution we mean the violent fight for freedom -- freedom that can be gained in no other way than by fighting. People do not fight because they enjoy it or because they relish the thought of their own death or the deaths of their beloved comrades. They fight to survive, because they understand the violence of fascism, and that violence means genocidal death at the hands of dictators who massacred 500 pigs, armed with military weapons, from factories and roads and literary propaganda to burn six people to death, dictators who have imprisoned over 22,000 brothers and sisters in the state of California and dictators who are begging to be taken down by the people. Dictators who take joy from the deaths of those who are starving, dictators who take joy from the hearts of those who love the people.

The military/industrial state the ruling class can only survive through repression. These fat-dogs cannot destroy truth or minds of the people to keep pacified. They must make people afraid so that they will do what they want.



...cells, squad, and other
...officer units. The...
...the...
...are not hung up on...
...as comrades-in-arms. We are
...in our struggle for freedom.
...determination to eliminate
...common enemy by force of
...ms has united us. To our com-
...sisters and brothers of the
...Black Liberation Army and all
...er fighters, let it be known
...the Malcolm X Combat Unit
...the Symbionese Liberation Ar-
...proudly takes up the banner
...New World Liberation Front.
...the Malcolm X Combat Unit
...the Symbionese Liberation Ar-
...left the San Francisco Bay
...in a successful effort to
...a massive pig encirclement.
...come clear from intelli-
...reports from other SLA
...units and from the people in
...community that the pigs were
...paring to trap us on the San
...ncisco peninsula. We knew
...re was a great risk in setting
...a base of operations in San
...ncisco, which is a natural de-
...a trap. The area is very
...surrounded by water and
...limited choices for breaking
...major encirclement. However,
...accepted this potentially dan-
...ous condition because we saw
...importance of making solid
...cts in the oppressed com-
...es of this city. We consi-
...ourselves to be an under-
...unit; however, the majority
...unit's members moved about
...and in the five months we
...we made many good

Our six comrades were not on
a suicide mission, as the pigs
would have us believe. They were
attempting to break a tentation-
sized encirclement. By looking
at the diagrams of where their
bodies were found, it is clear
that they had split into two teams,
moved to opposite sides of the
rear of the house and were pre-
paring to move out of the house
by force. The heavy automatic
weapons fired from the front of
the house was a diversionary tac-
tic to force the pigs to concen-
trate some of their forces in the
front. The two dynamite-loaded
pipe bombs were to be used as
fragmentation grenades to clear
a path through the crazing pigs
who had started the blaze by firing
incendiary grenades into the house.
Cin, Fahizah, Zoyn, Gabi, Ge-
lina and Gabi died of smoke in-
halation and burns before they
could get outside. The pigs want
us to believe that the fire was
started by the SLA; that it was
caused by SLA molotov cocktails;
or by accident from pig tear-gas
grenades. This is pig-shit. The
SWAT squad, FBI and LAPD would
have had to go into the house
themselves to clear it out. They
showed their true cowardice by
using incendiary grenades to cause
the fire that killed our comrades.
For those that don't know, in-
cendiary grenades burn at such
an incredible temperature that they
melt steel and armor plate in a
matter of seconds and are impos-
sible to extinguish.

The pigs want the people to
believe that the bad-ass tactics
of the SLA guerrillas drove the
fascists to use such barbaric
force. But we say that the SLA
is a reaction to fascism. The
SLA uses automatic weapons and
home-made bombs because the

deeds -- a life term in Cali-
fornia's concentration camps.
White, sickeningly liberal,
paranoid conspiracy freaks and
spaced-out counter-culture dope
fiends proved their naive and
amateurish research skills as they
rambled on and on and on about
the California Department of Cor-
rections. Bizarre stories about
Cin having been programmed and
electrodes implanted in his brain
while at Vacaville began to ap-
pear in the so-called underground
press.

Cinque Myster: the name means
"Fifth Prophet." Cin was indeed
a prophet. The pigs would have
the people believe that Cin was
just, as they would say, another
Cumb nigger. They continually
attempted to undermine his lead-
ership by propagandizing that Cin
was being fronted off by Whites;
that he wasn't smart enough to
be the brains behind the planning
and execution of the successful
SLA actions.

To this display of racism we
say, go on into the Black com-
munity and ask the people if Cinque
Myster was not a prophet. Ask
the people if they think he was
being used by Whites. The people
know that a Black man in Ameri-
ca does not need conscious Whites

Field Marshall of the Symbionese
Liberation Army Cinque Myster
killed himself. Cin was so deter-
mined to kill pigs that as long
as his heart was beating and there
was any air in his lungs
at all, he would fight, even if
his only weapon was his body.
We all know that revolutionaries
do not kill themselves. Revolution-
aries kill the enemy.

Cin was the baddest member of
the SLA and therefore our leader.
Our five White comrades who died
with him were among his students
and had learned well. They, too,
showed incredible determination
and courage. Celina, Fahizah,
Zoyn and Gabi did not
commit suicide, as the pigs would
have us believe. (Pigs tell us it
is suicidal for Whites to join
Blacks and other oppressed peo-
ple in making revolution. To this
sinking we say, it is suicidal
for the ruling class and all its
pig agents to believe that they
can continue to oppress, exploit,
murder and imprison an undivided
revolutionary army of people.
White Americans who follow the
example of our beautiful comrades
and join the fight for the freedom
of all oppressed people will not
do so because they are to die,
but because they are to live.

...ing class and every service
...repression. These fascist
...and destroy truth. They
...the people to keep them
...They must make people
...so that they do nothing.
They must make people feel iso-
lated from each other and over-
lashed. Fascism tries to do all
these things through the brutal
violence of the military police
force, the lurking big-brother
presence of the FBI, CIA and
their computer files, through
media propaganda. Fascism tries
to tell us we are fools to resist,
because in the end we will be
destroyed.

If we were only six people,
they would be correct, for they
can destroy the lives of six, or
nine, or even one hundred people.
But the truth the pigs try so
desperately to repress is that
the people are coming to under-
stand only too well. People are
ridding themselves of the bour-
geois desire to lead a long life,
and instead wish to fight for a
better, more human life. Yes,
repression breeds resistance. It
is proven to be true as each day
goes by. The dark eyes grow fier-
der with hate, and strong muscles
grow stronger with rage, and cold
steel grows colder in the firm
grip of a hand that loves the
people.

We must face the inevitable
truth that repression will grow
more intense as the power-hungry
pigs see their grip slipping. Unless
in this country have historically
had a tendency to back off when
repression intensified, feeling they
could escape the vicious tentacles.
For this reason, Black,
Brown, Asian and Indian brothers
and sisters have not treated
Whites, feeling that they would
deserve the fight as it was just
beginning in order to save their
own skin. These brothers and sis-
ters were often proven correct.
That is why we say anyone who
loves freedom must prove this
love through action, not words.
And only those who have fought
can truly speak.

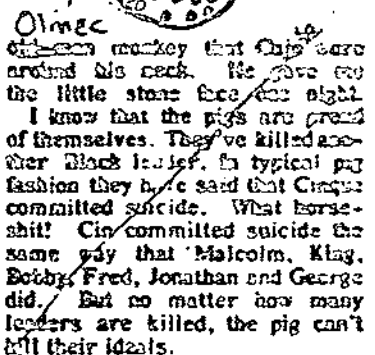
So we are freedom fighters.
We may be murdered, but whether
we live or die, the fight is there

But extended that the way they

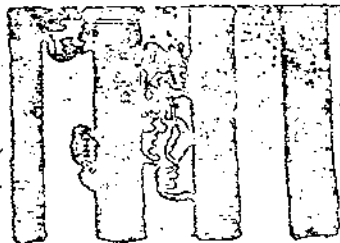
Nothing to be heard. This.

Folmar was a beautiful sister who didn't talk much but who was the teacher of many by her righteous example. She, more than any other, had come to understand

It was beautiful to hear Gail's father, Reuben Jackson. Gail loved her father and I knew that much of her strength came from the support he gave her. What a difference between the parents of Gail and Oufaj and my parents. One day, just before making the last tape, Oufaj and I were talking about the way my parents were sucking me over. He said that his parents were still in prison because they had never betrayed him, but my parents were really Malcolm X and Assata Shakur. I'll never betray my parents. The pigs probably have the little



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The Matrix is a Central Unit of the SIA was a leadership training cell, under the personal command of General Mark Marshall. Chief of General T. A. The Matrix was a leadership training cell, under the personal command of General Mark Marshall. Chief of General T. A. The Matrix was a leadership training cell, under the personal command of General Mark Marshall. Chief of General T. A.

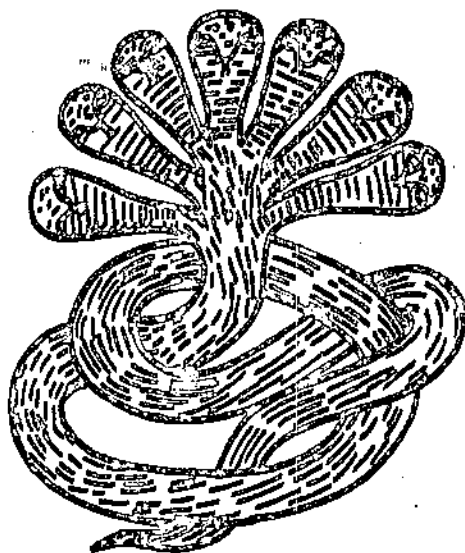
This is very precious to me
and I have never been able to
to which will help me along.
I could never share this love
with my life partner and I
love it all the more for it.

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor discoloration and faint smudges, characteristic of old paper. The left edge of the page shows the binding structure, including stitching or stitching holes. There is no text or other markings on the page.

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SUA Commun.

**THE SYMBIONESE
LIBERATION
ARMY**



ROBERT ORINARD PEARSON

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9-19-71

7-15200 PF 02128

U. S. A.

Spring 1974

Profound greetings of love to everyone: comrades, family, and friends.

This letter is long overdue and I hope that the wait has been bearable. If your mail cover is getting bored, he can always put in for a transfer to a combat zone. Though I guess that it's natural for the more squeamish, chickenshit type of spook to draw duty at the Post Office or outside some questionable citizen's bedroom window. Do you think they'll ever realize that all your junk mail for the past year has contained secretly coded messages from the underground?

That message you sent a while back came through loud and clear! There isn't a freedom fighter on this planet who wouldn't vote you Mom of the Year! The headlines in California read, "Mom Supports Terrorist Son!" I can imagine the hysteria it produced in Indiana. Do your neighbors peek under the hood before starting their cars in the morning, do they look for you under their beds at night? So it goes.....

During your visit to Oakland in '74 you and especially Jerry may have thought that we were naive, cocky, unaware of the probable consequences from declaring war on our fascist government on its home turf. To some extent this was true. But then, it's really OUR turf. And we did, however, take Jerry's criticisms seriously. But most importantly, we knew that we had to put our political and military ideas (analysis) into some relevant form of practice. This was the only means to be able to fully understand our strengths and weaknesses; to build on the former and eliminate the latter. We knew that to act at the risk of making mistakes was far more righteous than doing nothing until some magical perfect moment. History is not made by the timid.

In order to better help you understand why all this is happening, I'd like to talk about the guerrilla. There has been urban guerrilla activity inside this imperialistic monster, ameriKKKa, throughout its entire history. The pig's history books and the current bicentennial propaganda never mention it. This activity, armed struggle, has become more significant since the height of the anti-war movement in the late sixties. Previous to the emergence of the SLA the modern armed struggle was carried out by two major organizations, the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army. There were also other smaller groups of revolutionaries such as Sam Melville's cell in New York who carried out military actions against the government. The Weather Underground Organization has built a strong network, free of government penetration, and consistently provides political leadership to the struggle. The Black Liberation Army moved the armed struggle to a higher level by carrying out armed raids on major financial institutions (banks) and attacking the military forces (police) who occupied their communities. After CIA infiltration and collaboration with the enemy by a reformist clique within the Black Panther Party in Oakland, many BLA soldiers were killed, captured or executed by counter-intelligence agents. The government has since

claimed that they have wiped out the BLA. This is more wishful thinking than fact. To eliminate the Black Liberation Army they would have to complete their genocidal operations against the Black community. The BLA will thrive to the last "nigger".

One of our major objectives in joining these comrades in the armed struggle was to re-affirm to other revolutionary minded people that urban guerrilla warfare is not only necessary but that it is not as difficult as it may seem. The success of the Hearst Operation and the pig's impotence to "crack the case" pointed this out very clearly to a lot of people. Even though we have taken some heavy losses, it is pretty obvious that our losses have had little to do with pig expertise, but rather the result of our own inexperience. Realistically, we have hurt the government's counter-intelligence apparatus far more than they have hurt us. There is a remedy to inexperience: practice. But is there really a remedy to pig incompetence? With all their massive tricknology all they can do is wait for us to be involved in a petty traffic bust. Aint that some shit! Why we are the most accomplished defensive drivers in the whole country.

Our actions and our communiques explained that you don't have to join an already existing underground unit to become a guerrilla. We demystified the process of uniting the military with the political; the process of gaining political goals through military action. We proved that you need not seek out super women and men in order to learn how to fight, that you can and must teach yourself.

Cin referred to the year 1974 in one of our communiques as the Year of the Guerrilla. In the short period of time since the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army welcomed the SLA to the battlefield, the popular forces have grown and the incidents of counter-violence to state repression have increased at a fantastic rate. The fascists had hoped that the massive hunt for the SLA and their show of force at the battle of Compton would discourage others from joining the fight. This only further illustrated the cock-eyed historical perspective of the ruling class and its military stooges.

There will still be cases where the oppressed will express their rage as individuals. A perfect example of this would be brother Mark Essex who died fighting police and army helicopters in New Orleans. But more and more people are organizing clandestine combat units and assault squads, utilizing the proven tactics of the urban guerrilla; melting into the community and hitting the enemy where and when he least expects it. The present tally of urban guerrilla groups is impressive:

- Black Liberation Army (BLA)
- Weather Underground Organization (WUO)
- Black Guerrilla Family (BGF)
- Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)
- New World Liberation Front (NWLF)
- Chicano Liberation Front (CLF)
- Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN)
- Red Guerrilla Family (RGF)

Clearly the war has come home.

As you can see we have good reason to feel strong. The continued pressure that the combined counter-intelligence agencies of this fascist government bring to bear on us only serves to make us stronger. We are not hiding in caves and cellars. We move about freely, just like everyone else. The pigs have seen us hundreds of times. In the future we won't be so kind.

The time is not far off when guerrilla activity will spread to all parts of the country. Presently it has been most noticeable in the San Francisco Bay Area and the New York metropolitan area. These are the spots where mass consciousness has remained high for decades, where the contradictions of an oppressive social order have been the most evident.

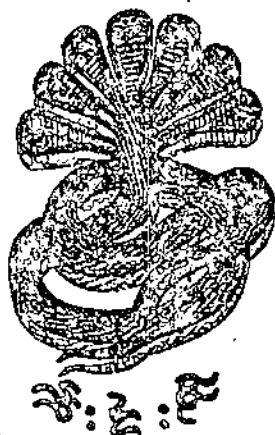
But recently the FALN attacked a group of imperialist financial institutions in Chicago which were directly engaged in crimes against the people of Puerto Rico (and for that matter, the rest of us). There has also been guerrilla activity in the Denver area directed against the exploiters of the Chicano nation and against the CI.

There is no place that the institutions and agents of fascism are invulnerable to attack. And there is no way that the pigs can stop the guerrillas. With all their illegal power and armed might they can only slow down the revolutionary process. They can eliminate individuals and even whole groups of freedom fighters, but they can never destroy the popular will to resist.

It is ironic, if not absurd, to witness lackeys like Charles Bates spouting that time is on their side. Their capitalist/imperialist system is like a wounded, dying wolf eating out its own stomach to survive. Patience is a virtue of the hunter, the guerrilla. But who is the hunter and who is the hunted? Yes, in one sense we are being hunted by the government. Hunted, yes, but not stalked. To carry the analogy further we are like the elusive grizzly bear who cunningly switches roles with the poacher. If the poacher had realized that he was to end up in the belly of the bear he would never have tried to rob the bear of her hide. Beware the grizzly, long live the guerrilla!

We are well and getting stronger by the day. We hope that things are going well for all of you. We all love you dearly, so keep the faith. It's probably not easy to follow the course of the armed struggle by relying on the censored media of the midwest. If you want to know more about what's happening and why, you might get behind beginning a correspondence with our captured comrades Russ Little and Joe Remiro. They are POW's at the California Medical Facility, Vacaville, California. To find out their exact address and how to contact them you can write or call Russ' lawyer, James Jenner c/o the Alameda County Public Defenders Office, Oakland, California. I know they (Russ and Joe) would love the chance to help you. You'll love them, too. Stay cool and remember

A Luta Continua
Venceremos
Teto



DATE: June 12, 1975

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY: SIA Strategic Command

SUBJECT: The Executions of Popeye Jackson and Sally Voge

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

INFORMANTS

"Our worst enemies are the spies who infiltrate our ranks. Any who are discovered must be punished by death, as also must deserters who inform the police of what they know."

-- Carlos Marighela

"All paid or unpaid informants operating within the community against the people and the guerrilla forces are sentenced without trial to immediate death."

-- SIA Codes of War

Being an informer is a deadly serious offense against the people and the revolution. The process of denouncing and administering revolutionary justice to informers is also deadly serious. In all cases, concrete evidence of complicity with big agents must be known and presented to support the action. It is not sufficient to base accusations on subjective analysis or upon details of opportunistic personal behavior. If an execution is carried out without a sound analysis, then confusion and disunity are created within the Left and throughout the community. Even if the person executed is a pig, if the act is not clearly understood by the people, it will create a serious obstruction to the building of unity between the

Guerrilla Front (underground) and the Mass Front (aboveground). The result is the division of Left forces and the creation of sectarian infighting when we should be united to fight the enemy.

If the person is not a pig, her or his execution is then nothing more than a criminal act, and is therefore indefensible.

POPEYE JACKSON AND SALLY VOYE: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

On June 3, 1975 the NWLF issued an open letter to Popeye Jackson and the people asking him to respond to questions they had about his revolutionary practice. We recognize the seriousness of the allegations in the letter and we believe that it was Popeye's responsibility to respond to them. It is our information that he fully intended to do this.

On June 8, 1975 Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer were executed. There was immediate suspicion, especially within the UPU, that the action was carried out by police agents. Two days later a communique was delivered to the San Francisco Chronicle by a group claiming the action in the name of the NWLF. The communique said that Popeye had been executed for working as a pig agent. UPU's response to the communique was a denunciation of the NWLF. The next day the NWLF issued a communique denying responsibility for the act. They restated their allegations against Popeye, explaining that any evidence they had was not enough to warrant them carrying out an execution. They called on the people who carried out the action to present evidence that would prove that Popeye deserved to be executed.

POPEYE JACKSON

We have long considered Popeye Jackson to be a friend and comrade. We supported his work in the prison movement, and his outspoken stance in critically supporting guerrilla fighters. Popeye was constantly under harassment from the pigs because of his uncompromising position in support of armed struggle and the rights of the convicted class. About Sally Voyer, we have no knowledge other than what we have read in the pig media.

At this point there is no conclusive proof about whether the executions of Popeye and Sally were carried out by guerrillas or by police counter-intelligence agents. The communique claiming responsibility for the act was totally incomplete. It didn't detail any acts of collaboration on Popeye's part which would justify his execution. It made certain allegations that brought into question Popeye's relationship with the Adult Authority, but presented no concrete information which would prove their allegations. This communique was also incomplete in its explanation of the execution of Sally Voyer. It alluded to the possi-

bility that she interfered with Popeye's execution, but failed to give any explanation of what the nature of her interference was. It therefore implied that she was simply IN THE WAY, and was apparently executed for no reason other than being an innocent bystander.

At this point we don't believe that Popeye was a pig. We support the NWLF's call for an analysis of this situation from our captured comrades in prison and for an explanation of why he was executed from the people who did it. If this action can't be further explained we have no choice but to conclude that his execution was either carried out by counter-intelligence agents or by horribly misguided "revolutionaries".

TO COMRADES IN THE ABOVEGROUND MOVEMENT:

The Left must constantly be aware of the lengths to which the pigs will go in order to sabotage the revolutionary movement. Operation Phoenix in Viet Nam and the recent revelations of CCINTELPRO operations in the U.S. are perfect illustrations of this. We clearly understand what it means to have our leaders killed by the enemy. This is the way the pigs have always operated: George Jackson, Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, Sam Melville and our six comrades, just to name a few.

The UPU clearly had this in mind when they made their first comments concerning Popeye's death. But when the communique arrived which claimed responsibility for the execution, UPU seemed to ignore the past practice of the pigs and forget the past practice of the NWLF. The New World Liberation Front has demonstrated a high degree of tactical sophistication and political understanding in all their actions. The superficial quality of this first communique should not have led the UPU to conclude absolutely that the NWLF executed Popeye. Only days before the execution was carried out, at least 100 counter-intelligence agents under the pseudonym of "U.S. Treasury Agents" were sent from Washington D.C. to the San Francisco Bay Area. Their directive was to destroy and discredit guerrilla forces in the Bay Area, specifically the NWLF. Since the arrival of these agents, Popeye Jackson was murdered under suspicious circumstances and a powerful anti-personnel bomb was discovered at a high school graduation in San Jose.

We cannot discount the possibility that these acts were carried out by the enemy to destroy the prison movement and discredit guerrilla forces. Revolutionaries must be committed to maintaining objectivity in analyzing guerrilla actions. They must recognize the past practice of both the guerrilla forces and the pig agencies and be vigilant about discerning the differences between the two. Only through mutual support/criticism will revolutionaries on the different fronts be able to maintain the unity necessary for our movement's survival and its ultimate victory.

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the People."

-- George Jackson

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

Strategic Command
SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

Spring 1974

For: Family, Friends and other loved ones...
or anyone interested.

Betty

I've written a number of other letters to you, none of which were ever mailed for one reason or another. I've carried them around in my pants pocket for months at a time. Then, I'll take them out, re-read them, and then, because things change so rapidly, they always seem insignificant, outdated.....so they always get ripped into hundreds of tiny "security" pieces (the revolution can't yet afford a U.S. government bonafide paper shredder) and sent off to total obscurity.

I hope you are in good mental and physical health. I hope that you have kept my "activities" in perspective and not allowed the pigs, capitalist media and your hateful, petty-fascist "friends and neighbors" to harass you too much. I hope you still believe that I am not a criminal, crazy, suicidal or in any way sick or confused. I hope you were able to listen to or read a transcript of our June 7th communique. Any one interested in understanding us more clearly--especially anyone dissatisfied with the reams of calculated lies and misrepresentations put out by the media's fascist apologists--should hear or read it.

Part of the focus of the communique was to point out that we understand the motivation behind people, who lack revolutionary consciousness, and who, out of love for us, plead for our surrender. We, too, were among the millions who witnessed the televised battle for 54th street in Compton. But unlike so many other white, middle-class people who were shocked by the terrorist tactics used by the militarily armed protectors of capitalism, imperialism, racism, sexism, ageism and all other forms of oppression, exploitation and murder....we can honestly say of that display of state-violence: we expected it. It is precisely this awareness of the systematic and awesome violence of the capitalist state that moved us to begin meeting it with revolutionary violence.

What happened in Los Angeles has happened countless times through out Amerikkka's history. I shouldn't have to document this charge with historical data...but just in case...RECALL:

The genocidal slaughter of all the many Indian nations.

The murder and bondage of tens of millions of Africans, kidnapped from their homelands and robbed of their culture and language.

The history of working people in Amerikkka is a chronicle of murderous class war: police, Pinkertons, Amerikkkan Legion "patriots", The National Guard, U.S. Army and other assorted hired goons paid to beat, imprison, lynch and machine-gun largely immigrant and non-white workers of the factories, sweat-shops, mines and fields of "america".

The daily violence of mad-dog, racist pigs in the oppressed communities and the thousands of Black, Brown, Red and Yellow children shot in the back by these cowardly uniformed punks... these same degenerate dogs who are supposedly paid by the people to "serve and protect" the people--when the all too clear reality is, and always has been, the service and protection of the property of our rulers and the maintenance of their fascist control over us all.

Hundreds of thousands of Amerikkka's poor young men have been killed or maimed in the greed inspired world wars and countless imperialist "police actions". It is not enough for our slave masters to oppress us and exploit our labor for incredible personal profit; they even force us by law or by poverty to give our lives to protect and increase their power and wealth....none of which we share.

It is no coincidence that Amerikkka's concentration camps are filled with poor people, mostly Black and Brown. It is also no coincidence that many thousands of these comrades develop revolutionary consciousness from the experience.

These are all historical events which I should not have to explain, and to millions of Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and poor White people, I don't. Unfortunately most white people, due to racist complacency, still cling to the myth of the "american dream". Many in their sickening liberalism continue to hallucinate that "things" will work out if only Nixon is impeached. (and now, as many if not more, have their fingers crossed that "mr. clean" will "save the day".)

xxx

Many people may be wondering why the pigs in California resorted to such massive force to kill six freedom fighters.

Aside from proving their cowardice to millions, our enemy had two very practical reasons for using a battalion of pigs on May 17th in L.A.

The first and most consistent with past government practice was to ensure the elimination of another revolutionary Black leader. To Blacks, whose natural and most militant leaders have been systematically exiled, imprisoned and murdered, this is nothing new or surprising.

The second and most historically pertinent reason for the massive assault was to attempt to scare "conscious" whites into their traditionally racist and passive roles of "supporting" the revolutionary struggles of Third World people with words only.

The pigs know that when whites join in the fighting that the end of their fascist hegemony is near, for it has been proven time and again throughout the world that a people--or peoples--united can never be defeated. When the daughters and sons of racist, white amerikkka put their own lives on the line with other, more oppressed people, then, the last link in the indestructable chain of a truly united people's revolutionary army is forged.

What the ruling class fears most is the day when white people throw off the yoke of white supremacy and class privilege, realizing that their own freedom is tied directly to the freedom of all oppressed people.

You all should know me well enough to realize that I will never compromise the freedom of oppressed people by surrendering to scum like the FBI or any other agency of this fascist, murderous, criminal and immoral government. You should also have no delusions by now that progressive change can be legislated by crooks, moral degenerates, opportunists and other enemies of freedom. Nixon is not a freak accident of "democracy". We are ruled by an economic system not "elected officials". "Amerikkkan Democracy" is a ruling class smokescreen for the class and racial oppression that has existed throughout OUR country's history. Those who cling to the hope that meaningful change can be legislated, willed, come by "divine decree", immaculate conception or fall from the moon are only sadly forging their own slave chains. Even bourgeois history books show us that oppressed people have in all cases liberated themselves only after unleashing the most calculated and devastating revolutionary violence against their fascist rulers. Pigs do not, never have and never will give the spoils of robbery and murder peacefully.

over

As you probably know, an awful lot of slanderous shit has been written and published about many of us by ruling class propagandists. Revolutionaries have always been characterized by the pigs to the people as criminals and mad dogs. This is natural because we mean to eliminate these pigs as a class and take back from them what they have stolen from the people. And we shall answer their foolish lies with bullets. (And Betty, you know me, Yolanda and you also knew Gelina. And you know who the revolutionaries are and therefore you should know who are the real criminals.)

One thing to remember if the confusion and mental agony get too unbearable.....we get a lot of support and encouragement from poor people of all colors.

Betty...I used to say that one day I'd be famous and you'd be proud of me. I always thought I would become a "great actor" or in some way "rich".....buy you a big house ...all sorts of bourgeois pipedreams.

Well, I may not be famous...more likely, notorious...but you should still be proud of me. The government of the USA wants to kill me. That puts me in the same class with some pretty fantasists and beautifully courageous people.

Just to mention a few, (and I do so in complete humbleness because they were all far greater than me):

Every dead Indian, every lynched Black, every gunned-down Chicano, every imprisoned Puerto Rican, every beat-up union organizer and to be more specific:

Nat Turner, John Brown, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Jonathon and George Jackson, Sam Melville, L. D. Barkley, Fred Hampton, Zayd Malik Shakur, Cinque Mtume.....and damn near everyone in Vietnam...just to name a few.

The point of all this is that you have got to stay strong. Don't let your concern for my life and safety make you weak. Pull for us, support us because in the end we are going to win!!

I want the people who knew and loved Bill Harris to feel the same love for Teko and the many other freedom fighters and for that matter, all struggling oppressed people. I want people to place less emphasis on worrying that we'll be killed or at least to also worry for the lives of the millions of people who daily face death by fascist pigs or the oppressive conditions of life in the capitalist/imperialist world. Everyone should understand that to single us out for concern because we are white and middle-class, from "good families", is essentially an example of racism and classism. We aren't special. Care for and love us all.

Of course we face death...murder by our class enemy. But we care how we live far more than how long we live. Unfortunately we cannot live the lives we want without first fighting for them.

According to the police I am a "fugitive from ameriKKkan justice". The implication is that I am running from them. IF there is an irony in this it is probably that for the first time in my life I am not trying to escape from life's reality. No more running away.....soldiers only make tactical retreats.

The reactions of some SIA soldier's parents have been fairly progressive.....others have only re-affirmed their piggishness and contempt for the people.

I am sorry that I have been unable to communicate with you during this trying period and I heartily appreciate your refusal to make assinine remarks to the pigs and their press. I am aware that your lives have been greatly disrupted, and I am sure that you understand that this condition will likely continue. For this I am not sorry but only glad that you are experiencing the illustration of part of the daily reality of millions of other people. This can only help you.

Please see that Charlie and Larry receive copies of this letter, along with any other elements of the family and close friends who have open minds and strong hearts....especially my uncle.

Again, I hope you feel strong, for every word of this letter has its basis in my love for you all. And every thing I do is motivated by the quest for your freedom as well as the peoples and mine.

¡A Luta Continua! ¡Venceremos!

Spring 1974

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The daily violence of mad-dog, racist pigs in the oppressed communities and the thousands of Black, Brown, Red and Yellow children shot in the back by these cowardly uniformed punks... these same degenerate dogs who are supposedly paid by the people to "serve and protect" the people--when the all too clear reality is, and always has been, the service and protection of the property of our rulers and the maintenance of their fascist control over us all.

Hundreds of thousands of Amerikkka's poor young men have been killed or maimed in the greed inspired world wars and countless imperialist "police actions". It is not enough for our slave masters to oppress us and exploit our labor for incredible personal profit; they even force us by law or by poverty to give our lives to protect and increase their power and wealth....none of which we share.

It is no coincidence that Amerikkka's concentration camps are filled with poor people, mostly Black and Brown. It is also no coincidence that many thousands of these comrades develop revolutionary consciousness from the experience.

These are all historical events which I should not have to explain, and to millions of Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and poor white people, I don't. Unfortunately most white people, due to racist complacency, still cling to the myth of the "american dream". Many in their sickening liberalism continue to hallucinate that "things" will work out if only nixon is impeached. (and now, as many if not more, have their fingers crossed that "mr. clean" will "save the day".)

xxx

Many people may be wondering why the pigs in California resorted to such massive force to kill six freedom fighters.

Aside from proving their cowardice to millions, our enemy had two very practical reasons for using a battalion of pigs on May 17th in L.A.

The first and most consistent with past government practice was to ensure the elimination of another revolutionary Black leader. To Blacks, whose natural and most militant leaders have been systematically exiled, imprisoned and murdered, this is nothing new or surprising.

The second and most historically pertinent reason for the massive assault was to attempt to scare "conscious" whites into the traditionally racist and passive roles of "supporting" the revolutionary struggles of Third World people with words only.

The pigs know that when whites join in the fighting that the end of their fascist hegemony is near, for it has been proven time and again throughout the world that a people--or peoples--united can never be defeated. When the daughters and sons of racist, white amerikkka put their own lives on the line with other, more oppressed people, then, the last link in the indestructable chain of a truly united people's revolutionary army is forged.

What the ruling class fears most is the day when white people throw off the yoke of white supremacy and class privilege, realizing that their own freedom is tied directly to the freedom of all oppressed people.

You all should know me well enough to realize that I will never compromise the freedom of oppressed people by surrendering to scum like the FBI or any other agency of this fascist, murderous, criminal and immoral government. You should also have no delusions by now that progressive change can be legislated by crooks, moral degenerates, opportunists and other enemies of freedom. Nixon is not a freak accident of "democracy". We are ruled by an economic system not "elected officials". "Amerikkkan Democracy" is a ruling class smokescreen for the class and racial oppression that has existed throughout our country's history. Those who cling to the hope that meaningful change can be legislated, willed; come by "divine decree", immaculate conception or fall from the moon are only sadly forging their own slave chains. Even bourgeois history books show us that oppressed people have in all cases liberated themselves only after unleashing the most calculated and devastating revolutionary violence against their fascist rulers. Pigs do not, never have and never will give the spoils of robbery and murder peacefully.

As you probably know, an awful lot of slanderous shit has been written and published about many of us by bhäing class propagandists. Revolutionaries have always been characterized by the pigs to the people as criminals and mad dogs. This is natural because we mean to eliminate these pigs as a class and take back from them what they have stolen from the people. And we shall answer their foolish lies with bullets. (And Betty, you know me, Yolanda and you also knew Gelina. And you know who the revolutionaries are and therefore you should know who are the real criminals.)

One thing to remember if the confusion and mental agony get too unbearable.....we get a lot of support and encouragement from poor people of all colors.

Betty...I used to say that one day I'd be famous and you'd be proud of me. I always thought I would become a "great actor" or in some way "rich".....buy you a big house ...all sorts of bourgeois pipedreams.

Well, I may not be famous...more likely, notorious...but you should still be proud of me. The government of the USA wants to kill me. That puts me in the same class with some pretty fantastic and beautifully courageous people.

Just to mention a few, (and I do so in complete humbleness because they were all far greater than me):

Every dead Indian, every lynched Black, every gunned-down Chicano, every imprisoned Puerto Rican, every beat-up union organizer and to be more specific:

Nat Turner, John Brown, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Jonathon and George Jackson, Sam Melville, L. D. Barkley, Fred Hampton, Zayd Malik Shakur, Cinque Mtume.....and damn near everyone in Vietnam...just to name a few.

The point of all this is that you have got to stay strong. Don't let your concern for my life and safety make you weak. Pull for us, support us because in the end we are going to win!!

I want the people who knew and loved Bill Harris to feel the same love for Teko and the many other freedom fighters and for that matter, all struggling oppressed people. I want people to place less emphasis on worrying that we'll be killed or at least to also worry for the lives of the millions of people who daily face death by fascist pigs or the oppressive conditions of life in the capitalist/imperialist world. Everyone should understand that to single us out for concern because we are white and middle-class, from "good families", is essentially an example of racism and classism. We aren't special. Care for and love us all.

Of course we face death...murder by our class enemy. But we care how we live far more than how long we live. Unfortunately we cannot live the lives we want without first fighting for them.

According to the police I am a "fugitive from amerikkkan justice". The implication is that I am running from them. If there is an irony in this it is probably that for the first time in my life I am not trying to escape from life's reality. No more running away.....soldiers only make tactical retreats.

The reactions of some SIA soldier's parents have been fairly progressive.....others have only re-affirmed their piggishness and contempt for the people.

I am sorry that I have been unable to communicate with you during this trying period and I heartily appreciate your refusal to make assinine remarks to the pigs and their press. I am aware that your lives have been greatly disrupted, and I am sure that you understand that this condition will likely continue. For this I am not sorry but only glad that you are experiencing the illustration of part of the daily reality of millions of other people. This can only help you.

Please see that Charlie and Larry receive copies of this letter, along with any other elements of the family and close friends who have open minds and strong hearts....especially my uncle.

Again, I hope you feel strong, for every word of this letter has its basis in my love for you all. And every thing I do is motivated by the quest for your freedom as well as the people's and mine.

Fall 1974

Betty

As you can see, I've been carrying the first part of this letter around for a pretty long time. As I said before, these words are written with the intention that you will get to read them, but, as you probably well know, the pig is being very persistent in trying to find us; therefore, I can take few risks and sending off letters of a personal nature is a luxury not to be afforded. The pig waits for us to make the error of trying to maintain contact with our families and old friends. The pig is used to chasing "criminals" but has little practice in finding revolutionaries. What usually happens is revolutionaries help catch themselves by making mistakes, errors like the ones that helped the enemy find and murder our comrades in L.A. Revolution is a painful process of struggling and learning from mistakes that cannot be repeated.

Anyway what I'm trying to explain in case you don't understand is that I love you and because I do you haven't received this letter until now. I mean to survive, survive to fight, fight to win, win freedom for us all.

There are many things that I used to enjoy doing, that I no longer can afford to do: many people I love dearly who I no longer can be with, many good comrades who have been imprisoned and who I have but one chance of ever seeing again and that is by daring to fight for their freedom, many other dear comrades who have been murdered and will not see our victory.

These changes do not make me sad but only angry so that I can clearly see, stalk and eliminate our enemy. It makes me angry that you and I can no longer argue over ideology together, that we cannot embrace.....this does not make me sad, it righteously pisses me off! As you see, I am developing a positive and revolutionary attitude toward my "condition". This is what I hope you are doing. Have you ever read or seen a production of Bertold Brecht's THE MOTHER? I refuse to mope about my oppression, I intend to be free and I have come to realize that I'll not be free until all exploited and oppressed people are free.

I was re-reading the portion of this letter that I wrote last Spring and it struck me that there was an absence of warmth, warmth that I actually felt. At the time that I

wrote it I was very concerned for your well being, I didn't know to what degree you were worrying and being harrassed, and I also wanted to clarify my position in order to help you understand what was happening and how that would help you maintain a healthy outlook on it all. I wanted to be sure that you would try to be proud rather than ashamed of me and, therefore, proud of yourself for you have helped make me what I am. I'd like for you to be able to look any pig (FBI or fascist acquaintance) in the eye and say, "My son is a revolutionary!"

Of course, it's better you kept any seditious feelings or ideas more to yourself because it is not really allowed in this "free" society. Anyone who still is confused enough to believe that the people have freedom of speech should go check with a brother named David Hilliard who is "kept" in one of California's many concentration camps. David, the ex-Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, spoke at a huge anti-war rally in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in 1970 and in the course of his speech he stated that the war in Vietnam would be ended if necessary by killing Nixon. He was arrested by Nixon's personal goon squad for threatening "the life of the president". In ameriKKKa a Black man cannot hope to remain free for long especially if he happens to threaten the life of a tax-evading, embezzling thief and mad-dog, mass murderer. I know you are not a Black man, Betty, but you may soon find that white, middle-class, "law-abiding" mothers will get similar treatment from fascists. Be careful of what you say in front of the "bob craigs" of this country, in Germany the fascists even made snitches out of little children. I wouldn't want any of your golfing "buddies" to convince themselves that you are that "Red under the bed". Just be careful who you're proud with, and just in case, remember, that in your bag of tricks an eight iron makes one hell of a dent in the thick head of a pig.

At one point I read that you said that I had become a part of the SLA because of a reaction to my experience in Vietnam. In some ways this is true. But, clearly, Vietnam didnot make me "crazy". It was but one of many things that have proven to me that revolutionary change will only come through armed struggle, and that it is now time to stop talking and begin the fight.

I suppose you are interested in some minor details around day to day existance. I am in very good health, probably the best shape of my life. The only drawback is that I am still only 5'7" tall. But, then, being hard to find in a crowd is presently a very handy quality. There's a lot of stress and tension, but learning to live in a hostile environment and under adverse canditions is helping to make me a lot stronger emotionally. A woman we talked with recently told Yolanda that she is the sanest person she's ever met.

I'm sure you have been thinking a lot about Yolanda. She's gone through some wonderful changes since we first met. Both of us have grown rapidly in the last year, we've had to. While our relationship is certainly different than it has been in even recent times, the changes have all been good ones. We are learning to be revolutionaries and the process is making us both stronger. The reasons we have for loving each other are far more important than those that seemed to be the basis for our bourgeois marriage. Whereas we do not take a position that all marriages are bourgeois or that monogamy in all forms is reactionary, we no longer consider ourselves to be "married". We try not to even consider ourselves a "couple". This is not so much an ideological condition as it is a practical way of dealing with the special conditions of engaging in urban guerilla warfare. Though we do not engage in exclusive personal relationships, our daily lives do not include "sex orgies". We view sex as a basic human need and try to deal with it on the level of comradeship and understanding. We see the so-called "sexual revolution" as just another form of capitalist exploitation, where people are reinforced to use each other rather than learn to develop a mutual capacity to love. The "revolution of sex" is in reality the exploitation of "meat" where Madison Ave. piggery exploits the enslaving aspects of sexual myth and fantasy.

As a matter of fact, due to our far greater need to remain vigilant and be constantly training to eliminate our individual and collective weaknesses, we probably are less active sexually than most so-called "normal" people. We put a revolutionary emphasis on quality rather than have bourgeois fixations on quantity.

We do not consider ourselves to be a movement for cultural revolution, even though this country certainly needs one. We are a part of a revolutionary army and therefore our strategy is to bring about a revolutionary war. Through the elimination of the capitalist ruling class, all its agents, institutions and value systems we will gain the freedom to carry out a cultural revolution. Therefore, we do not consider our present lifestyle to be a model for the future, because the people will decide this for themselves.

I wish we had the freedom to talk about these things in detail. I'm sure you have many questions. I imagine you are still worrying about us and to this I can only say that we are doing our best to ensure our survival and speed our victory. It will be very difficult, at this time, to communicate with any regularity, but you can be assured that I will try my hardest to keep you informed. As long as I am free you will know that I am well, for the things you worry about happening will certainly make the papers. I am very much in control of my life and I wish that you were in control of yours. That is why I am doing what I am.

Again, much love to all and especially to those who dare to be free.

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T. K.

ALL COMMUNIQUES ISSUED BY THE SLA:

November 6, 1973

Foster Communique #1

appeared in Oakland Tribune, Berkeley Barb
(Nov. 16-22) and in the Examiner later

November 15, 1973

Foster Communique #2

Oakland Tribune, Examiner later

January, 1974

Fahizah's Letter to the People

tape to KPFA, Berkeley Barb (Jan 25-31),
Sunday Examiner after kidnap

February 4, 1974

Hearst Communique #1

Berkeley Barb (Feb. 8-14)

February 8, 1974

Hearst Communique #2 (food program, Cin, Tania)

Berkeley Barb (Feb. 15-21), Examiner, Chronicle
(Wed. Feb. 13-14), tape sent by mail to KPFA

February 13, 1974

Hearst Communique #3 (Tania - do what you can)
tape

Berkeley Barb, delivered by call to Cecil W.
directing him to phone booth then to locker
in downtown air terminal.

February 19, 1974

Hearst Communique #4 (Cin ran down Hearst
empire and demanded
\$4million more)
"I am that nigger"

Berkeley Barb (March 1-7), tape left in public
library with call to Cecil Williams

February 27, 1974

First letter from Osceola and Bo

March 8, 1974

Hearst Communique #5 (Gelina criticized food
program, restate demands,
Tania, Fahizah)

Berkeley Barb (March 15-21), 3 tapes released
to KGBN, KDLA, KPFA.

COMMUNIQUEES page 2

March 27, 1974	Second letter from Osceola and Bó
March 29, 1974	Hearst Communique #6 (conditions of release Codes of War)
	Berkeley Barb, letter to John Bryan of the Phoenix
April 4, 1974	Hearst Communique #7 (Tania, Cin, Teko, Fahizah Celina, photograph)
	tape to KSAN by cab messenger Berkeley Barb (April 5-12, 12-13)
April 16, 1974	Bank Expropriation Communique
June 6, 1974	Tania, Teko, Yolanda
	tape to KFFK, Berkeley Barb (June 14-20)
June 12, 1975	Popeye Communique

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY
WESTERN REGIONAL YOUTH UNIT
COMMUNIQUE NO. 1

Subject: The Board of Education; The Implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

Warrent Order: Execution by Cyanide Bullets.

Date: November 6, 1973.

Warrent Issued By: The Court of the People.

Charges: Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of a political police force operating within the schools of the people. Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of bio-dossiers through the Forced Youth Identification Program. Supporting and taking part in the building of composite files for the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

Target: Dr. Marcus Foster, Superintendent of Schools, Oakland, California; Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent, Oakland, California.

On the aforesaid date, elements of the United Federated Forces of the S.L.A. did attack the fascist Board of Education, Oakland, California, through the person of Dr. Marcus A. Foster, Superintendent of Schools, and Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent.

This attack is to serve notice on the Board of Education and its fascist elements that they have come to the attention of the S.L.A. and the Court of the People and have been found guilty of supporting and taking part in crimes committed against the children and the life of the people.

This attack is also to serve notice on the fascist Board of Education and its fascist supporters that the Court of the People has issued a death warrant on all members and supporters of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. This SHOOT ON SIGHT order will stay in effect until such time as ALL POLITICAL POLICE ARE REMOVED FROM OUR SCHOOLS AND ALL PHOTO AND OTHER FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION ARE STOPPED.

Indictment No. 1: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting a special political police force to occupy and patrol the schools in our cities. The vast Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White youth communities of the Oakland-Berkeley area understand that this newest extension of police surveillance is patterned after fascist American tactics of genocide, murder and imprisonment practiced by American financed puppet governments in Vietnam, the Philippines, Chile and South Africa. We recognize that the school system censors and controls what we read, and that the special political police force is to censor and control what we say and do.

Indictment No. 2: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting the implementation of bio-dossiers through the Forced Youth Identification Program. This photo identification program, with the addition of composite files, is patterned after the system of apartheid in South Africa. These bio-dossiers classify our youth according to color and "criminal tendencies" (the will to be free) and seek to eliminate all our valiant freedom fighters by "relocating" (incarcerating) them in such concentration camps as Tehachapi Prison. Under the Preventative Crime Act such concentration camps have the authority to incarcerate our youth from the age of 15 for an "indefinite" period of time. The Preventative Crime Act stipulates that any youth displaying violent or "criminal" potential or the possibility of violent or "criminal" potential in the future, in other words, any youths who oppose the current system of censored political police state education and seek to organize against it are to be classified as dangerous and either disarmed, shot or imprisoned for expressing their rights to be free and defending the rights to freedom of their fellow brothers and sisters.

Indictment No. 3: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of supporting and taking part in the implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. The Internal Warfare tapes are based in the FBI's master computer system. Each state is required to feed this main computer system with information from the composite files on individuals who have expressed political views that may be regarded as differing from those of the fascist ruling class. Members of liberation movements and organizations, as well as single individuals, are identified through photographs and bio-dossiers supplied, in the case of our youth, by the Boards of Education and public school systems in our cities. The racist nature of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System is clear since Blacks and other minorities who refuse to serve the rich ruling class are automatically classified as potentially violent and "criminal". The CIA-ITT financed junta government in Chile uses similar bio-dossiers to murder all identified people who oppose the military take-over there or

who do not serve and support the interests of the wealthy. Similar programs are carried out by the governments financed by Amerika and its military corporate enterprises throughout the world in the lands of the robbed; Vietnam, the Philippines, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, South Africa are some prime examples.

The Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White youth in our communities recognize the importance of the Oakland-Berkeley area to the liberation struggle of all oppressed people. We know that the ruling class must seek to stop the revolutionary community here before the ruling class can regain its arm of control around the struggling and oppressed people of the world.

We understand that the definition of a fascist government necessitates the elimination of all who oppose its controls. We know that the school system does not educate us, but rather it lies to us in an attempt to perpetuate the interests of the rich ruling class. News of the successful liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters throughout the world is stifled because the enemy fears our knowledge of the fact that a truly determined people can never be defeated. We reject totally the ruling class values of personal material gain and competition among ourselves, and we know that the enemy fears our understanding of the fact that "nothing is more precious than freedom." The myth of a high-style superfly life and fashion show (a capitalist rip-off) does not sway us, for we know that the fascist government of Amerika supplies the dope and the clothes and wants us to spend the rest of our lives paying for them. We are well aware that a fascist government will always allow some of us to get high, while the rest of us go to concentration camps, and none of us are free.

It is clear that Dr. Foster and sideman, deputy superintendent Robert Blackburn, represent the rich ruling class and big business, and not the children and youth of our communities. The school system which they represent and serve does not teach us or address itself to the needs of our survival, but rather perpetuates the values of big business and the wealthy. Under the current system, the ruling class is educated to exploit, and our children and youth are educated to serve. We are not deceived by the superintendent and deputy. Robert Blackburn is a former director of education for the Peace Corps in East Africa. The Peace Corps, as well as USAID are promoted and financed as a front for the CIA, and have long been arms of Amerikan imperialist and racist oppression and genocide. Dr. Foster is a former member of the Philadelphia Crime Commission, and now his advancement within the fascist process found

him as initiator, promoter and supporter of political police units, armed with riot shotguns, to patrol our schools.

The Oakland-Berkeley area is considered potentially dangerous to the Amerikan ruling class; that is why it has been selected for the political police force within the schools and the Forced Youth Identification Program. Let it be known to those who sign for the implementation of these fascist programs, that the death of our manchild comrade youth, 14-year old Tyrone Guyton, murdered on November 1st by three goons from the Emeryville political police patrol, is NOT FORGOTTEN. Tyrone fell victim to the racist enemy who is instituting programs such as those initiated by Marcus Foster and Robert Blackburn aimed at the control, imprisonment, execution and genocide of Blacks and other minorities. Let it be known to those who sign for the implementation of these fascist programs, that they sign their own death warrants. We of the Black and other revolutionary youth communities have for too long seen the enemy prostitute our mothers, imprison our fathers, shoot our brothers and sterilize our sisters. We have learned from these lessons; therefore, notice is hereby served on the enemy political police state and all its lackeys that we hold as an example to follow the courage of our slain comrade-in-arms, Jonathan Jackson, and we call upon our mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers saying, TO THOSE WHO WOULD REAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE, LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

--S.L.A.

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This attack is also to serve notice on the fascist Board of Education and its fascist supporters that the Court of the People has issued a death warrant on all members and supporters of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. This SHOOT ON SIGHT order will stay in effect until such time as ALL POLITICAL POLICE ARE REMOVED FROM OUR SCHOOLS AND ALL PHOTO AND OTHER FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION ARE STOPPED.

Indictment No. 1: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting a special political police force to occupy and patrol the schools in our cities. The vast Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White youth communities of the Oakland-Berkeley area understand that this newest extension of police surveillance is patterned after fascist American tactics of genocide, murder and imprisonment practiced by American financed puppet governments in Vietnam, the Philippines, Chile and South Africa. We recognize that the school system censors and controls what we read, and that the special political police force is to censor and control what we say and do.

Indictment No. 2: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting the implementation of bio-dossiers through the Forced Youth Identification Program. This photo identification program, with the addition of composite files, is patterned after the system of apartheid in South Africa. These bio-dossiers classify our youth according to color and "criminal tendencies" (the will to be free) and seek to eliminate all our valiant freedom fighters by "relocating" (incarcerating) them in such concentration camps as Tehachapi Prison. Under the Preventative Crime Act such concentration camps have the authority to incarcerate our youth from the age of 15 for an "indefinite" period of time. The Preventative Crime Act stipulates that any youth displaying violent or "criminal" potential or the possibility of violent or "criminal" potential in the future, in other words, any youths who oppose the current system of censored political police state education and seek to organize against it are to be classified as dangerous and either disarmed, shot or imprisoned for expressing their rights to be free and defending the rights to freedom of their fellow brothers and sisters.

Indictment No. 3: The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of supporting and taking part in the implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System. The Internal Warfare tapes are based in the FBI's master computer system. Each state is required to feed this main computer system with information from the composite files on individuals who have expressed political views that may be regarded as differing from those of the fascist ruling class. Members of liberation movements and organizations, as well as single individuals, are identified through photographs and bio-dossiers supplied, in the case of our youth, by the Boards of Education and public school systems in our cities. The racist nature of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System is clear since Blacks and other minorities who refuse to serve the rich ruling class are automatically classified as potentially violent and "criminal". The CIA-ITT financed junta government in Chile uses similar bio-dossiers to murder all identified people who oppose the military take-over there or

who do not serve and support the interests of the wealthy. Similar programs are carried out by the governments financed by Amerika and its military corporate enterprises throughout the world in the lands of the robbed; Vietnam, the Philippines, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, South Africa are some prime examples.

The Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White youth in our communities recognize the importance of the Oakland-Berkeley area to the liberation struggle of all oppressed people. We know that the ruling class must seek to stop the revolutionary community here before the ruling class can regain its arm of control around the struggling and oppressed people of the world.

We understand that the definition of a fascist government necessitates the elimination of all who oppose its controls. We know that the school system does not educate us, but rather it lies to us in an attempt to perpetuate the interests of the rich ruling class. News of the successful liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters throughout the world is stifled because the enemy fears our knowledge of the fact that a truly determined people can never be defeated. We reject totally the ruling class values of personal material gain and competition among ourselves, and we know that the enemy fears our understanding of the fact that "nothing is more precious than freedom." The myth of a high-style superfly life and fashion show (a capitalist rip-off) does not sway us, for we know that the fascist government of Amerika supplies the dope and the clothes and wants us to spend the rest of our lives paying for them. We are well aware that a fascist government will always allow some of us to get high, while the rest of us go to concentration camps, and none of us are free.

It is clear that Dr. Foster and sideman, deputy superintendent Robert Blackburn, represent the rich ruling class and big business, and not the children and youth of our communities. The school system which they represent and serve does not ~~beachhuss~~ address itself to the needs of our survival, but rather perpetuates the values of big business and the wealthy. Under the current system, the ruling class is educated to exploit, and our children and youth are educated to serve. We are not deceived by the superintendent and deputy. Robert Blackburn is a former director of education for the Peace Corps in East Africa. The Peace Corps, as well as USAID, ~~are~~ promoted and financed as a front for the CIA, and have long been arms of American imperialist and racist oppression and genocide. Dr. Foster is a former member of the Philadelphia Crime Commission, and now his advancement within the fascist process found

him as initiator, promoter and supporter of political police units, armed with riot shotguns, to patrol our schools.

The Oakland-Berkeley area is considered potentially dangerous to the American ruling class; that is why it has been selected for the political police force within the schools and the Forced Youth Identification Program. Let it be known to those who sign for the implementation of these fascist programs, that the death of our manchild comrade youth, 14-year old Tyrone Guyton, murdered on November 1st by three goons from the Emeryville political police patrol, is NOT FORGOTTEN. Tyrone fell victim to the racist enemy who is instituting programs such as those initiated by Marcus Foster and Robert Blackburn aimed at the control, imprisonment, execution and genocide of Blacks and other minorities. Let it be known to those who sign for the implementation of these fascist programs, that they sign their own death warrants. We of the Black and other revolutionary youth communities have for too long seen the enemy prostitute our mothers, imprison our fathers, shoot our brothers and sterilize our sisters. We have learned from those lessons; therefore, notice is hereby served on the enemy political police state and all its lackeys that we hold as an example to follow the courage of our slain comrade-in-arms, Jonathan Jackson, and we call upon our mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers saying, TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE, LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

-S.L.A.

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR
THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS
EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings, my comrade sisters and brothers; all love,
power and freedom to you.

I am very glad to have this opportunity to speak to you, even though I know that what I am feeling cannot be completely expressed in words. You may have heard of me, not because I am any more important than any of you, but simply because my former name has been in the news lately. My name was Nancy Ling Perry, but my true name is Fahizah. What that name means is one who is victorious, and I am one who believes in the liberation and victory of the people because I have learned that what one really believes in is what will come to pass.

So, my name is Fahizah, and I am a freedom fighter in an information/intelligence unit of the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. I still am that, in spite of the fact that I am now being sought for a political action, and in spite of the fact that two of my closest compañeros are now chained in the Adjustment Center (the prison's prison) at San Quentin Concentration Camp. I am still with other members of the SLA, and I am hiding only from the enemy and not from the people. I have no intention of deserting my commitment nor would I ever try to run away from it because I have learned that there is no flight to freedom except that of an armed projectile. Although it is the practice of the Symbionese Liberation Army to act rather than talk, I am compelled to speak because I wish to make clear my position and why I am fighting.

First of all, I think I should tell you something about my background and the evolution of my consciousness. Basically, I have three backgrounds: I have a work background, a love background and a prison background. My prison background means that I have close ties and feelings with our incarcerated brothers and sisters. What they have taught me is that if people on the outside do not understand the necessity of defending them through force of arms, then it is because these people on the outside do not yet realize that they are in an immediate danger of being thrown into concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs. What my love background has taught me was a whole lot of what love is all about, and that the greater one's capacity for love is, the greater is one's longing for freedom. What my work

background taught me is that one of the things that every revolutionary does is to fight to get back the fruits of her or his own labor and the control of his or her own destiny.

The experience of living in Amerikkka has taught me the realities of what fascism, imperialism and genocide mean, and I have discovered the truth about our police state dictatorship, not because I studied about it in college, but because I see it everyday, and because truth is something that is honestly known as easily as beauty is seen. There is no need for me to relate here everything that I have seen, or everything that I am sure you are already aware of. I am sure, my sisters and brothers, that you realize that the government is in the rapid and steady process of removing the means of survival from the lower class and giving these benefits to the middle class in an effort to rally support from them. And as the government is removing these means of survival from the people, then naturally the people who have been robbed must in turn take back what rightfully belongs to them, and take back what they need in order to survive. This the current dictatorship calls a crime, whether they take food from the grocery store, or take to the streets to make a speech or take a gun in their hand to defend themselves.

As a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit, I fight against our common oppressor, and this I do with my gun as well as my mind. I try to use my mind and my imagination to uncover facts, so that when the SLA attacks it will be in the right place, and that the actions of the more experienced SLA combat units will truly serve to benefit the people and answer their needs. The action taken by the SLA combat unit in reference to the Oakland Board of Education was a specific response to political police state programs and the failure of the Board to heed the rights and demands of the people in the community. The specific program was one of photo identification (similar to the system of apartheid in South Africa), biological classification in the form of bio-dossiers which classify students according to race and political beliefs, internal warfare computer files, and armed police state patrols within the schools. Thorough intelligence operations carried out by SLA information units obtained factual information that Foster's signature was the first to appear on the Nixon Administration inspired proposal for armed police agents within certain Oakland schools and various forms of computer classification of students. Further intelligence revealed that Foster's background included

membership on the Philadelphia Crime Commission. Foster's sideman, Blackburn, is a CIA agent. As director of Education in East Africa, he worked to implement test programs against Black people there, and he trained other agents to carry them out so that he could return to this country and introduce those same programs here. I feel a need to explain this again because I want to make it clear that the SLA was not indiscriminantly issuing death warrants for Foster, Blackburn or anyone else, but rather we were attacking the programs and proposal of which they were the initiators, supporters and first signers. Such an attack was the only means left open to us to demand that the people's wishes be met, and that all such dangerous, genocidal programs be stopped.

The government controlled media has made some reference to the effect that this action was carried out by White people made up in black face. Members of the SLA do not have to make up in black face in order to defend the Black community, since the SLA is a federation formed in the style of a revolutionary united nations whose commanding leadership is composed of representatives of the Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and White communities. As revolutionaries we would never disguise ourselves by race because we would never deliberately act in a manner that would bring further police investigation onto any one race of peoples. But I would like to ask -- since when does one have to be Black in order to care about the murder of 14 year old Tyrone Guyton by political police state death squads; since when does one have to be White in order to feel for the starving children in Appalachia; since when does one have to be Asian in order to care about the napalming of children in Vietnam; since when does one have to be Brown in order to fight against the mass slaughters being conducted by the military junta in Chile???? Since when???? Not since we have come to realize that we are all one in struggle.

I am a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit, and that means that my responsibility is to aid the combat units with information and keep myself armed at all times. I am in a race to learn how to fight because I am in a race to survive. SLA information/intelligence units have a military/political alliance with SLA combat units. What that means is that information units totally support armed struggle. All members of the SLA understand that politics are inseparable from struggle; in fact politics have no meaning without armed combat and information units to give politics a purpose.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is unlike many existing political organizations in this country which support the armed liberation struggles of peoples throughout the world, but when it comes to the struggle here in Amerikkka, they consistently denounce militancy and revolutionary violence, and in so doing denounce one of the few means left to the people to achieve their liberation. I believe that whenever people are confronted with oppression, starvation and the death of their freedom that they want to fight. It has been the history of many political leaders to suppress this will of the people and to pretend that the people will somehow achieve their liberation without revolutionary violence. But the truth is that there has never been a precedent for a non-violent revolution; the defenseless and unarmed people of Chile can testify to that. All members of the SLA recognize that we, right here in Amerikkka, are in a state of war, and that in a state of war, all must be armed and understand the true meaning of self-defense. When any member of the people's army strikes out at the murderer of our people and children we are doing so in self-defense; we are doing so because we are left no alternative, and force of arms is now our only means to affect revolutionary justice. However, the natural instincts of many people in our country have become perverted by the conditionings to which they have been subjected. They have been conditioned to be afraid of revolutionary violence. I no longer have these fears because as a comrade of mine named Osceola has taught me, "The only way to destroy fear is to destroy the makers of fear, the murderer and the oppressor."

Everyone in the SLA combat forces is offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all weapons that they carry. Up until today this had not been the case for SLA information/intelligence units or for any support units. At that time all units other than combat units were only defensively armed with hand guns and carried no cyanide bullets. Beginning January 11th, however, a directive was issued by the SLA and the Court of the People stating that as of that date, all units of the Symbionese Liberation Army are to be heavily and offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all their weapons. I would like to convey the word to my two captured companeros -- you have not been forgotten, and you will be defended because there has been no set back and all combat forces are intact.

There really are no words available to me to express what I feel about the capture of my two companeros. They are in a concentration camp now because none of us were offensively armed, and because I was not aware that they

were under attack. But my beautiful brothers, as we have said many times, we learn from our mistakes, and we learn from our active participation in struggle, not from political rhetoric. So we won't cry, but simply fight on and right on with that. A comrade of mine, Bo, says something that I'd like to leave you with, "There are two things to remember about revolution, we are going to get our asses kicked and we are going to win."

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

--Fahizah

January, 1974

TO THOSE WHO WOULD HEAR
THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE,
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EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

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DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

--Fahizah

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY
WESTERN REGIONAL ADULT UNIT
COMMUNIQUE NO. 3

Subject: Prisoners of War

Target: Patricia Campbell Hearst, daughter of Randolph Hearst, corporate enemy of the people.

Warrant Order: Arrest and protective custody; and if resistance, execution.

Warrant Issued by: The Court of the People

Date: February 4, 1974

On the aforesated date, combat elements of the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army armed with cyanide-loaded weapons served an arrest warrant upon Patricia Campbell Hearst.

It is the order of this court that the subject be arrested by combat units and removed to a protective area of safety and only upon completion of this condition to notify Unit #4 to give communication of this action.

It is the directive of this court that during this action ONLY, no civilian elements be harmed if possible, and that warning shots be given. However, if any citizens attempt to aid the authorities or interfere with the implementation of this order, they shall be executed immediately.

This court hereby notifies the public and directs all combat units in the future to shoot to kill any civilian who attempts to witness or interfere with any operation conducted by the people's forces against the fascist state.

Should any attempt be made by authorities to rescue the prisoner, or to arrest or harm any S.L.A. elements, the prisoner is to be executed.

The prisoner is to be maintained in adequate physical and mental condition, and unharmed as long as these conditions are adhered to. Protective custody shall be composed of combat and medical units, to safeguard both the prisoner and her health.

All communications from this court must be published in full in all newspapers and all other forms of the media. Failure to do so will endanger the safety of the prisoner.

Further communications will follow.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
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--S.L.A.

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SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO.4

Subject: Demand for a Good Faith Gesture

Issued By: The Court of the People

Date: February 8, 1974

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings to the people and comrade sisters and brothers.

My name is Cinque and to my comrades I am known as Cin. I am a Black man and a representative of Black people. I hold the rank of General Field Marshal in the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Today I have received an order from the Symbionese War Council, the Court of the People, to the effect that I am ordered to convey the following message in behalf of the SLA and to insert a taped word of comfort and verification that Patricia Campbell Hearst is alive and safe.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is composed of military/political elements of many different liberation struggles and of many different races. Our unified purpose is to liberate the oppressed peoples of this nation and to aid other oppressed people around the world in their struggle against fascist imperialism and the robbery of their freedom and homeland. Since this is the purpose and goal of the SLA, it is therefore clear to us, as it will be to all oppressed people, that our interest is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves, since the people shall always come first in our hearts and souls.

The SLA has arrested the subject for the crimes that her mother and father have, by their actions, committed against we, the American people and the oppressed people of the world. In understanding this charge, we must first understand who the Hearsts are and who they serve and represent.

Randolph A. Hearst is the corporate chairman of the fascist media empire of the ultra right-wing Hearst corporation, which is one of the largest propaganda institutions of this present military dictatorship of the militarily armed corporate state that we now live under in this nation. The primary goal of this empire is to serve and form the necessary propaganda and smoke-screen to shield the Amerikkkan people from seeing the realities of the corporate dictatorship which Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford represent. This network of propaganda and confusion has succeeded in hiding the truth from the people. That truth being that the nation has suffered its first military corporate coup and that the Constitution which some of us still believe in has been overthrown.

The Fascist Hearst Corporation is composed of, firstly a national newspaper syndicate which includes the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle and others which jump from California to as far away as New York and Philadelphia. Secondly, a magazine monopoly composed of over 13 publications which include for example, House Beautiful, Harper's Bazaar, Town and Country and Cosmopolitan. Thirdly, a TV and radio station empire across the nation with production of propaganda films for both national and international use. Fourth, ownership of vast areas of real estate in the United States and Mexico; forest, grassland and cattle ranches. All of this is directly connected to Washington and the corporate dictatorship of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. That is to say that the Hearst empire is one of the empires of the ruling class whose interests serve the rich and are in direct contradiction with the interests of the people. Therefore, they are enemies of the people.

Mrs. Catherine Hearst is a member of the University of California Board of Regents, and is responsible along with others appointed by Governor Ronald Reagan for the loaning of funds and the investment of our California tax monies in corporations which have interest and do gain profit from the robbery, oppression and genocide carried out by fascist and racist governments around the world and within the United States itself. The regents with the support of Mrs. Hearst, have time and time again been requested by we, the people, to not invest our money in such fascist corporations as General Motors, Westinghouse, Gulf, Standard Oil, the Bank of America and others who have and do serve and gain profit from the oppression, robbery and murder that is committed against Black people of South Africa where 70,000 Black children a year die from malnutrition; against White people of Ireland where US trained British soldiers shoot down in the street Irish fathers and mothers as US manufactured tear gas suffocates Irish children as their older sisters and brothers rot in British concentration camps; against the freedom of the Phillipine people where US and puppet soldiers use US manufactured napalm to attempt to burn away the spirit of freedom from the hearts and souls of the poor and starving.

The UC Board of Regents, one of California's largest foreign investors, supports through its investments, the murder of thousands of Black men, women and children of Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia; murders designed to destroy the spirit of freedom that humanity longs for. With all these crimes placed before the Board of Regents and Mrs. Hearst, with all the pleas from the people to stop supporting these corporations and governments, the Board and Mrs. Hearst did not raise one voice in protest or refuse to be a party to these crimes committed against the Amerikkkan people.

We of the Symbionese Liberation Army hold that the Hearst Corporation and the Hearst family and the Board of Regents as well as the corporate state which they support and aid, are enemies of the people and, as such, that the people have the legal and human right and duty to attack said enemy according to the facts

of war taken by the oppressed people against any enemy or murderer or oppressor to regain their freedom and liberty and to give life to their children and people.

It is therefore the directive of this court that before any form of negotiations for the release of the subject prisoner be initiated, that an action of good faith be shown on the part of the Hearst family to allow the Court and the oppressed people of this world and this nation to ascertain as to the real interests and cooperative attitude of the Hearst family, and, in so doing, show some form of repentance for the murder and suffering they have aided and profited from. And this good faith gesture is to be in the form of a token gesture to the oppressed people who the Hearsts aid the corporate state in robbing and removing their rights to freedom and liberty. This gesture is to be in the form of food to the needy and the unemployed, distributed according to our instructions.

In closing and speaking personally for myself as a father of six children, I wish to say to Mr. Hearst and Mrs. Hearst that I, as well as the forces under my command by the authority of the Court of the People, are not savage killers and madmen and we do hold a high moral value to life. We value life very deeply and with all the spirit that we as human beings can bring forth in our hearts. Speaking as a father, I am quite willing to lose my children, if by that action, I could save thousands of White, Black, Yellow and Red children from a life of suffering and exploitation and murder, and I am therefore quite willing to carry out the execution of your daughter to save the life of starving men, women and children of every race. I am also, along with the loyal women and men of many races who love the people, quite willing to give our lives to free the people at any cost. And if, as you and others so naively believe that we will lose, let it be known that even in death we will win, for the very ashes of this fascist nation will mark our very graves.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO.4

Subject: Demand for a Good Faith Gesture

Issued By: The Court of the People

Date: February 8, 1974

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings to the people and comrade brothers and sisters.

My name is Cinque and to my comrades I am known as Cin. I am a Black man and a representative of Black people. I hold the rank of General Field Marshal in the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Today I have received an order from the Symbionese War Council, the Court of the People, to the effect that I am ordered to convey the following message in behalf of the SLA and to insert a taped word of comfort and verification that Patricia Campbell Hearst is alive and safe.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is composed of military/political elements of many different liberation struggles and of many different races. Our unified purpose is to liberate the oppressed peoples of this nation and to aid other oppressed people around the world in their struggle against fascist imperialism and the robbery of their freedom and homeland. Since this is the purpose and goal of the SLA, it is therefore clear to us, as it will be to all oppressed people, that our interest is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves, since the people shall always come first in our hearts and souls.

The SLA has arrested the subject for the crimes that her mother and father have, by their actions, committed against us, the American people and the oppressed people of the world. In understanding this charge, we must first understand who the Hearsts are and who they serve and represent.

Randolph A. Hearst is the corporate chairman of the fascist media empire of the ultra right-wing Hearst corporation, which is one of the largest propaganda institutions of this present military dictatorship of the militarily armed corporate state that we now live under. The primary goal of this empire is to serve and inform the necessary propaganda and smoke-screen to shield the Amerikkkan people from seeing the realities of the corporate dictatorship which Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford represent. This network of propaganda and confusion has succeeded in hiding the truth from the people. That truth being that this nation has suffered its first military corporate coup and that the Constitution which some of us still believe in has been overthrown.

The Fascist Hearst Corporation is composed of, firstly a national newspaper syndicate which includes the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle and others which jump from California to as far away as New York and Philadelphia. Secondly, a magazine monopoly composed of over 13 publications which include for example, House Beautiful, Harper's Bazaar, Town and Country and Cosmopolitan. Thirdly, a TV and radio station empire across the nation with production of propaganda films for both national and international use. Fourth, ownership of vast areas of real estate in the United States and Mexico; forest, grassland and cattle ranches. All of this is directly connected to Washington and the corporate dictatorship of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. That is to say that the Hearst empire is one of the empires of the ruling class whose interests serve the rich and are in direct contradiction with the interests of the people. Therefore, they are enemies of the people.

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We of the Symbionese Liberation Army hold that the Hearst Corporation and the Hearst family and the Board of Regents as well as the corporate state which they support and aid, are enemies of the people and, as such, that the people have the legal and human right and duty to attack said enemy according to the forms

of war taken by the oppressed people against any enemy or murderer or oppressor to regain their freedom and liberty and to give life to their children and people.

It is therefore the directive of this court that before any form of negotiations for the release of the subject prisoner be initiated, that an action of good faith be shown on the part of the Hearst family to allow the Court and the oppressed people of this world and this nation to ascertain as to the real interests and cooperative attitude of the Hearst family, and, in so doing, show some form of repentance for the murder and suffering they have aided and profited from. And this good faith gesture is to be in the form of a token gesture to the oppressed people who the Hearsts aid the corporate state in robbing and removing their rights to freedom and liberty. This gesture is to be in the form of food to the needy and the unemployed, distributed according to our instructions.

In closing

In closing and speaking personally for myself as a father of six children, I wish to say to Mr. Hearst and Mrs. Hearst that I, as well as the forces under my command by the authority of the Court of the People, are not savage killers and madmen and we do hold a high moral value to life. We value life very deeply and with all the spirit that we as human beings can bring forth in our hearts. Speaking as a father, I am quite willing to lose my children, if by that action, I could save thousands of White, Black, Yellow and Red children from a life of suffering and exploitation and murder, and I am therefore quite willing to carry out the execution of your daughter to save the life of starving men, women and children of every race. I am also, along with the loyal women and men of many races who love the people, quite willing to give our lives to free the people at any cost. And if, as you and others so naively believe that we will lose, let it be known that even in death we will win, for the very ashes of this fascist nation will mark our very graves.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO. 6

Subject: Good Faith Gesture

Issued by: The Court of the People

Date: February 19, 1974

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings to the people, comrade sisters and brothers. General
Field Marshal Cinque speaking.

The Hearst empire has attempted to mislead the people and to deceive them by claiming to put forth a good faith gesture of \$2 million. This amount is not at all a good faith gesture but rather is an act of throwing a few crumbs to the people forcing them to fight over it amongst themselves. We have had a Court hearing concerning both the actions of the enemy Hearst family and the Hearst empire as a whole and have chosen first to expose a sampling of the extent of the Hearst empire which includes the Hearst Foundation, the Hearst Corporation empire and Mr. and Mrs. Hearst's personal assets.

The assets of the Hearsts' wealth include the following:

1. A silver mine and thousands of acres of land in Mexico, acreage in Hawaii, and 70,000 acres of timberland in Northern California valued at millions of dollars; a cattle ranch near San Luis Obispo; orange groves in Florida, a duck club and rice paddies outside of Marysville, Calif.; small land holdings and homes in Hillsborough, New York and San Diego, each valued at well over one-half million dollars.
2. Personal stocks with large interests in IBM, Beatrice Foods, Exxon, the Sugar Bowl Corp, Safeway stores, United Airlines and Hughes Airways, along with huge holdings in drug companies, ore industries, paper companies, lumber companies and cattle ranches.
3. Miscellaneous personal items. A collection of antiques, paintings, Chinese screens and Greek vases; 24 vases each valued at \$10,000. A collection of Oriental rugs given to Hearst by a personal friend, the Shah of Iran. The family has also received numerous gifts over the years from other long-time personal friends such as Howard Hughes.

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The Hearst Foundation is a front for the Hearst fortune. The foundation serves as a tax loophole for that fortune. The foundation donates an estimated \$3 million a year to established charities to maintain its legal status as a foundation. The \$1.5 million proposed to be coming from the foundation is nothing more than half of what that foundation is legally required to donate annually in order to maintain its foundation status.

The assets of the Hearst Corp. have been stated many times. However, I will restate them again as some specific factors. As we all know, the Hearst Corp. is composed of a chain of magazines, newspapers and TV stations. However I wish to point out two specific ones as examples. Cosmopolitan magazine reaps profits of \$7 million to \$8 million a year. Another is House Beautiful which reaps profits of \$3 million to \$4 million a year. The Hearst Corp. is also composed of feature film industries and ownership of lumber companies and large stock holdings in General Motors, as well as land holdings in each of the cities where the newspaper chains operate. For example, ownership of one square block in New York City is valued in hundreds of millions of dollars for the land alone.

In total, the Hearst empire along with Mr. and Mrs. Hearst's personal wealth does in fact go into the hundreds and hundreds of millions. Even if Mr. Hearst was to give all that to the people, with friends such as the Shah of Iran and Howard Hughes he would suffer no losses. However, even if Mr. Hearst were to give all of that to the people, he could never pay the people back for the past losses of their children and freedom, nor for the current suffering they are now under.

The food plan proposed by Mr. Hearst is not at all acceptable as a gesture of good faith in its present form. It shall be acceptable only in so far as it totally meets the specifications as listed in the following:

1. That an additional \$4 million be added to the \$2 million already allotted, making a total of \$6 million to be used for the purchase of food. We recognize that at wholesale prices available to Mr. Hearst and his designated "People In Need" charity organization, he will be able to feed all who come to receive food. We specify wholesale prices here because we do not intend for Safeway or any other supermarket to make a profit from feeding the poor. Nor do we intend for this to be another program which subsidizes the food industry.

2. That this total of \$6 million worth of food be distributed in the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, East Palo Alto, Richmond, San Jose, and Santa Rosa. That an adequate number of distribution centers be made available to various communities in these cities: San Francisco -- Mission District, Chinatown, Hunter's Point, Western Addition; Oakland -- East and West.

3. That all foods distributed be of top quality. And that all canned goods and dry foods be matched with equal amounts of top quality fresh meats, dairy products and produce. And that no attempt be made to distribute garbage or culls or surplus storage foods or government commodities to the people.

4. That \$70 worth of food be given over a one-month period to each family coming to receive food. That is, by the end of one month's time, a total of \$70 worth of food will have been given to each family. This is to be done during the first month of operation of the program. If this means problems of the storage of food at the distribution centers, then it will be a necessity to have an expansion of the number of centers as well as the number of days and hours that the centers are open. It has always been the intention of the SLA and the Court of the People that a substantial number of families in several communities be able to receive an amount of food during this one-month period that would meet some of their needs in addition to assuring that the people do not get another extended program which could be abandoned by the Hearsts at any time without the people having ever really received anything. For we have no basis on which to formulate a trust that an enemy of the people could extend a gesture for one year or for any on-going process. Further it is the decision of this Court that \$6 a month for a year is in no way as beneficial as \$70 for one month.

5. No names shall be taken or any other form of identification or any addresses of any people who come to receive food. Any people who come to receive food shall get it. There shall be absolutely no questionnaires, forms or any other type of program processing which people coming to get food should have to go through. And no form of identification or verification of need other than a simple verbal request for food shall be required.

6. That members of the coalition of the people's community organizations and groups be made up of not only the six example organizations named, but any people's organizations who wish to participate with the San Francisco Western Addition Project Area Committee known as WAPAC acting as chair if they so desire. And that this coalition act solely in the capacity as observers and coordinators and not negotiators between the SLA combat forces and Mr. Hearst to see to it that the aged and disabled receive their food. And to see to it that no police agents in or out of uniform are allowed to be in the areas of food distribution or photograph or harass the people. It is the coalition under the leadership of WAPAC who should see to it that the food program meets our specifications and that the distribution centers are run in the true spirit of revolutionary cooperatives with no bureaucratic overseers or hirelings.

7. We wish to designate the Western Addition Project Area Committee known as WAPAC (if they accept this request) as chair of the coalition having full veto power in the actions and activities of the coalition. We request this and ask this because

of that organization's example of showing the people that they serve only the interest of the people and that they desire to feed the people by any means necessary. They did not compromise the needs of the people for the sake of their organization. Rather, without being requested, they stepped forward to show themselves to be in the interest of the people.

3. That this tape and a transcript be published and printed in full, omitting nothing, in all forms of the media.

9. That the total amount of \$6 million be allotted to your designated "People In Need" charity organization within 24 hours of receipt of this order and that the food be available to the people within one week of receipt of this order.

10. To the People: If you are not receiving your food in the manner we have designated, all you have to do is voice your discontent in the streets, at bus stops, movie theaters, etc. and we will hear about it.

11. Once we see compliance with these specifications and the program well under way; then, as we have previously stated, we will begin negotiations for the release of your daughter.

12. Should this order be rejected, all further communications shall be suspended and the prisoner will be maintained according to the terms of the international codes of war.

We wish to express to the people how important it is to recognize the meaning of the enemy strategy. We must recognize that enemy propaganda and psychological warfare will be used throughout the struggle for freedom. We must combat enemy attempts to demoralize us, for in the face of the failure to achieve military solutions against the people's army, the enemy must then step up its efforts in the propaganda war. Their aims are:

1. To prevent a liberation movement from getting under way by destroying it at its source, that is by undermining the people's will to fight, and
2. Where revolutionary warfare has actually begun, to conquer it by political means, that is to say by granting just sufficient political, economic and social reform for the moment to encourage all but the so-called extremists to abandon the struggle. Then the enemy will kill off the leadership of the people as in the period of King and Malcolm, and reinstate oppression and genocide on the defenseless people.

In stating these facts we wish to say that the collective leadership of the SLA would not under any circumstances or under any terms compromise our position or that the people's freedom. And no one should attempt to speak for us or assume that they, by word or action, can compromise any request made on behalf of the people by the SLA.

At this time we wish to state that all people should cry out for the thousands of children of all colors who have been murdered and starved by the enemy state. All people should cry out for the millions of children of all races who are starving and dying now and not just cry out for the safety of only one human being who just happens to be the daughter of an enemy of the people. Fight and cry out in defense of millions and save the children. And by this action you will save also the life of one who has never seen the robbed or knew that the riches of her life were the spoils of a robber and a murderer.

It is the judgment of this Court that the Hearst family and the Hearst Corp. seems to be more foolishly concerned with the identities of supposed SLA elements rather than with the admission to the people of the crimes committed against the people by the Hearst empire. They have seemingly said by their actions that they know me and therefore do not have to repent for their crimes.

However, to this I would say -- yes, you do indeed know me. You have always known me. I'm that nigger you have hunted and feared night and day. I'm that nigger you have killed hundreds of my people in a vain hope of finding. I'm that nigger that is no longer just hunted, robbed and murdered. I'm the nigger that hunts you now. Yes, you know me. You know us all. You know me. I'm the wetback. You know me. I'm the gook, the brocc, the servant, the spik. Yes, indeed you know us all and we know you -- the oppressor, murderer and robber. And you have hunted and robbed and exploited us all. Now we are the hunters that will give you no rest. And we will not compromise the freedom of our children.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO. 6

Subject: Good Faith Gesture

Issued by: The Court of the People

Date: February 19, 1974

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2. Personal stocks with large interests in IBM, Beatrice Foods, Exxon, the Sugar Bowl Corp, Safeway stores, United Airlines and Hughes Airways, along with huge holdings in drug companies, ore industries, paper companies, lumber companies and cattle ranches.
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3. That all foods distributed be of top quality. And that all canned goods and dry foods be matched with equal amounts of top quality fresh meats, dairy products and produce. And that no attempt be made to distribute garbage or culls or surplus storage foods or government commodities to the people.

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6. That members of the coalition of the people's community organizations and groups be made up of not only the six example organizations named, but any people's organizations who wish to participate with the San Francisco Western Addition Project Area Committee known as WAPAC acting as chair if they so desire. And that this coalition act solely in the capacity as observers and coordinators and not negotiators between the SLA combat forces and Mr. Hearst to see to it that the aged and disabled receive their food. And to see to it that no police agents in or out of uniform are allowed to be in the areas of food distribution or photograph or harass the people. It is the coalition under the leadership of WAPAC who should see to it that the food program meets our specifications and that the distributions centers are run in the true spirit of revolutionary cooperatives with no bureaucratic overseers or hirelings.

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At this time we wish to state that all people should cry out for the thousands of children of all colors who have been murdered and starved by the enemy state. All people should cry out for the millions of children of all races who are starving and dying now and not just cry out for the safety of only one human being who just happens to be the daughter of an enemy of the people. Fight and cry out in defense of millions and save the children. And by this action you will save also the life of one who has never seen the robbed or knew that the riches of her life were the spoils of a robber and a murderer.

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However, to this I would say -- yes, you do indeed know me. You have always known me. I'm that nigger you have hunted and feared night and day. I'm that nigger you have killed hundreds of my people in a vain hope of finding. I'm that nigger that is no longer just hunted, robbed and murdered. I'm the nigger that hunts you now. Yes, you know me. You know us all. You know me. I'm the wetback. You know me. I'm the gook, the broad, the servant, the spik. Yes, indeed you know us all and we know you -- the oppressor, murderer and robber. And you have hunted and robbed and exploited us all. Now we are the hunters that will give you no rest. And we will not compromise the freedom of our children.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS UPON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

STAMBIOWESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO. 9

Subject: Freeing of the Prisoner of War

Issued By: The Court of the People

Date: April 4, 1974

I would like to begin this statement by informing the public that I wrote what I am about to say. It's what I feel. I have never been forced to say anything on any tape. Nor have I been brainwashed, drugged, tortured, hyponotized or in any way confused. As George Jackson wrote, "It's me, the way I want it, the way I see it."

Mom, Dad, I would like to comment on your efforts to supposedly secure my safety. The PIN giveaway was a sham. You attempted to deceive the people. You were playing games -- stalling for time -- time which the FBI was using in their attempts to assassinate me and the SLA elements which guarded me. You continued to report that you did everything in your power to pave the way for negotiations for my release -- I hate to believe that you could have been so unimaginative as to not even have considered getting Little and Remiro released on bail. While it was repeatedly stated that my conditions would at all times correspond with those of the captured soldiers, when your own lawyer went to inspect the "hole" at San Quentin, he approved the deplorable conditions there -- another move which potentially jeopardized my safety. My mother's acceptance of the appointment to a second term as a UC regent, as you well knew, would have caused my immediate execution had the SLA been less than together about their political goals. Your actions have taught me a great lesson, and in a strange kind of way, I'm grateful to you.

Steven, I know that you are beginning to realize that there is no such thing as neutrality in time of war. There can be no compromise as your experience with the FBI must have shown you. You have been harrassed by the FBI because of your supposed connections with so-called radicals, and some people have even gone so far as to suggest that I arranged my own arrest. We both know what really came down that Monday night, but you don't know what's happened since then. I have changed -- grown. I've become conscious and can never go back to the life we led before. What I'm saying may seem cold to you and to my old friends, but love doesn't mean the same thing to me anymore. My love has expanded as a result of my experiences, to embrace all people. It's

grown into an unselfish love for my comrades here, in prison and on the streets. A love that comes from the knowledge that no one is free until we are all free.

I have been given the choice of (1) being released in a safe area, or (2) joining the forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army and fighting for my freedom and the freedom of all oppressed people. I have chosen to stay and fight. One thing which I have learned is that the corporate ruling class will do anything in their power in order to maintain their position of control over the masses, even if this means the sacrifice of one of their own. It should be obvious that people who don't even care about their own children couldn't possibly care about anyone else's children. The things which are precious to these people are their money and power -- and they will never willingly surrender either. People should not have to humiliate themselves by standing in line in order to be fed nor should they have to live in fear for their lives and the lives of their children as Tyrone Guyton's mother will sadly attest to.

Dad, you said that you were concerned with my life and you also said that you were concerned with the life and interests of all oppressed people in this country, but you are a liar in both areas and as a member of the ruling class, I know for sure that yours and Mom's interests are never the interests of the people. Dad, you said you would see about getting more job opportunities for the people, but why haven't you warned the people what is going to happen to them -- that actually the few jobs they still have will be taken away. Tell them how the law and order programs are just a means to remove so-called violent (meaning aware) individuals from the community in order to facilitate the controlled removal of unneeded labor forces from this country in the same way that Hitler controlled the removal of the Jews from Germany.

I should have known that if you and the rest of the corporate state were willing to do this to millions of people to maintain power and to serve your needs, you would also kill me if necessary to serve those same needs. How long will it take before White people in this country understand that whatever happens to a Black child will happen sooner or later to a White child? How long will it be before we all understand that we must fight for our freedom?

I have been given the name Tania after a comrade who fought along side Che in Bolivia for the people of Bolivia. I embrace the name with the determination to continue fighting with her spirit. There is no victory in half-assed attempts at revolution. I know Tania dedicated her life to the people. Fighting with total determination and an intense desire to learn, which I will continue in the oppressed American people's revolution.

Osceola and Bo, even though we have never met I feel like I know you, and I'm fighting with your freedom and the freedom of all prisoners in mind. If I'm feeling down, I think of you,

of where you are and why you are there and my determination grows stronger. It's good to see that your spirits are so high in spite of the terrible conditions. Even though you aren't here, you are with other strong comrades, and the three of us are learning together -- I, in an environment of love and you in one of hate, in the belly of the fascist beast. We have grown closer to the people and become stronger through our experiences. I have learned how vicious the pig really is, and our comrades are teaching me to attack with even greater viciousness in the knowledge that the people will win. We share a common goal as revolutionaries knowing that Comrade George lives!

It is in the spirit of Tania that I say -- PATRIA O MUERTE. VENCEREMOS.

Greetings to the people. My name is Teko. I am a White revolutionary and a soldier in the Symbionese Liberation Army. I have a message for all my White brothers who have not yet come forward to fight for the freedom of all the people. Contrary to what many of us may think, the special privileges we as a group have gained for ourselves through the oppression of all other people, has never secured for us the freedom we desire. White men must understand that they will live under the threat of death as long as they continue to oppress the members of any class or group who have the strength and determination to fight back.

White men themselves have only one avenue to freedom and that is to join in fighting, to the death, those who are and those who aspire to be the slave masters of the world. Many of us are fighting beside comrades from all races and classes, women and men, young and old. We know we have a long way to go to purify our minds of the many bourgeois poisons, but we also know that this isn't done through bullshitting and ego-tripping, but by acting as the Comrade has taught us -- by stalking the pig, seizing him by the tusks and riding his pig ass into his grave. It is done by unleashing the most devastating revolutionary violence ever imagined, by proving that all races and groups of people can unite and fight together for the true freedom of us all.

When we call on the people to join us in the fight for freedom, many of you wonder how you can join the SLA, feeling that joining materially with those who are already fighting will provide the security you need to justify risking our lives. But we soldiers in the SLA say to this mistaken reasoning, that you must read again our Declaration of Revolutionary War and Terms of Military/Political Alliance. The SLA came into being because

many people refused to wait for so-called revolutionary groups and organizations to lead them into a revolution, which would therefore never come. We grew tired of waiting for mythological North American revolutionaries with the necessary expertise and skills we lacked, to teach us. We have learned much from many brave revolutionary women and men, but in reality we are fighting today because we, ourselves, have seized the moment, taught ourselves, developed incredible strength, determination and committed ourselves to never compromise with the enemy. The people will not be given their freedom, they will have to seize it. Wait for no one my brothers.

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- (1) In retaliation for being put in a position that required them to print everything,
- (2) To try to isolate us from the people, and
- (3) To discourage the people from joining the forces.

Therefore, the people must watch and listen with keen perception. We will speak to you through action. Analyze these actions carefully, making sure to recognize when the ENEMY is in the disguise of revolutionaries. They will do anything to stop the rising of the people, including killing their own kind and blaming the people's forces, under the pretense of a race war.

Remember that the SLA was born from the spirit of the people. The SLA is the people's army and we fight in their interests. The SLA will never compromise. The SLA will not allow the enemy give to deceive us into passively accepting genocide. Listen and watch and let that spirit become your name.

Love to our sisters and brothers in prisons; courage and faith to our two captured soldiers; greetings to all oppressed peoples -- may we connect.

This is Field Marshal Cin. I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the Federation to thank WAFAC and all the coalition members for their aid in feeding and educating the people. We send you our faith and unity to always serve the people.

I wish to say to those who only talk about what they want -- your words and cries will bring you nothing but a wet face and an empty heart. The enemy is unhearing, and he is unmerciful to the oppressed. If you would have freedom for your children and the people, then you, as all oppressed people, will have to fight and struggle for it. Freedom is not tax deductible, not is it willed to you. No piece of paper can sign it over to you or your children. It is something that in an oppressive world can only be gained and protected by the force of your arms and your spirit to defend freedom at any cost.

To the people and combat forces of the people, business of the revolution -- the following are enemies of the people; they are agents of the enemy and have been found guilty of working and informing to the enemy against the people. Death warrants have been issued by this Court against them and they should be shot on sight by any of the people's forces.

Robyn Steiner -- female, White, age 20, hazel eyes, brown hair, 5'4", 115 pounds, wears contact lenses, past resident of Berkeley, now living in Florida, an informer to the FBI.
Chris Thompson -- male, Black, brown eyes, black hair, 6'3", Berkeley resident, a government agent, paid informer to the FBI.

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Concerning the protective custody prisoner -- the subject has been freed, as our promise stated, but she refused to go home. There is no further need to discuss the release of the prisoner, since she is now a comrade and has been accepted into the ranks of the people's army as a comrade and fighter. And there is no further basis for negotiations, since the subject may leave whenever she feels that she wishes to do so. She is armed and perfectly willing and able to defend herself.

To our two soldiers who are in the hands of the enemy and to all our comrades behind the walls -- as you know, we have learned a hard lesson for our mistakes. I send you my love, and the love of all of your comrades, and courage in your determination to carry on the struggle, even from that side of the wall, as we will never relent from this end. In this way we do expect to meet again.

I would also like to take this opportunity to speak to my six lovely Black babies, Victor, Damon, Sherry, Sherlyne, Dawn, and Dede. I want you to know that to just say your names again fills my heart with joy. I want you to know that I love you all,

with all the love that a father can have for those so dear to him. And I want you to understand also, that I have not forgotten my promise to you -- that whenever you needed me, I would be there at your side. And so, I am now, even when you may not see me. I am there. Because no matter where I am, I'm fighting for your freedom, your future and your life.

Daddy wants you to understand that I can't come home because you and the people are not free and as long as the enemy exists, I can find no rest, nor any hope for you or our people as a whole. I can't be happy when the enemy murders the children of other fathers and mothers, who must stay home or who have not the courage to fight or the clear understanding yet, that the greatest gift they give their children is freedom.

So, to you my children, even though I may never see you again, know that I love you and will not, for any price, forsake your freedom and the freedom of all oppressed people. To you I would give all that a father could wish. I would give you life without fear and exploitation; I would give you love with a future; I would give you the understanding that the price of freedom is daring to struggle, daring to win.

In ending this letter to you, I ask only one thing of you all, that is, promise me that you will always honor the people and love the children and defend them both at any price against the enemy.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TAPED COMMUNIQUE NO. 9

Subject: Freeing of the Prisoner of War

Issued By: The Court of the People

Date: April 4, 1974

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Mom, Dad, I would like to comment on your efforts to supposedly secure my safety. The PIN giveaway was a sham. You attempted to deceive the people. You were playing games -- stalling for time -- time which the FBI was using in their attempts to assassinate me and the SLA elements which guarded me. You continued to report that you did everything in your power to pave the way for negotiations for my release -- I hate to believe that you could have been so unimaginative as to not even have considered getting Little and Remiro released on bail. While it was repeatedly stated that my conditions would at all times correspond with those of the captured soldiers, when your own lawyer went to inspect the "hole" at San Quentin, he approved the deplorable conditions there -- another move which potentially jeopardized my safety. My mother's acceptance of the appointment to a second term as a UC regent, as you well knew, would have caused my immediate execution had the SLA been less than together about their political goals. Your actions have taught me a great lesson, and in a strange kind of way, I'm grateful to you.

Steven, I know that you are beginning to realize that there is no such thing as neutrality in time of war. There can be no compromise as your experience with the FBI must have shown you. You have been harrassed by the FBI because of your supposed connections with so-called radicals, and some people have even gone so far as to suggest that I arranged my own arrest. We both know what really came down that Monday night, but you don't know what's happened since then. I have changed -- grown. I've become conscious and can never go back to the life we led before. What I'm saying may seem cold to you and to my old friends, but love doesn't mean the same thing to me anymore. My love has expanded as a result of my experiences, to embrace all people. It's

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SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR
THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS
EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings to the people, the Black Liberation Army, the United People's Liberation Army, the Black Guerrilla Family, the Weather Underground and all freedom fighters of the United Symbionese Federation and the New World Liberation Front.

This is Teko speaking. Yolanda, Tania and I extend profound feelings of revolutionary love and solidarity to General Field Marshal Cabrilla and all soldiers of the United People's Liberation Army; to B-team Commander and all elements of the Anti-Aircraft Forces of the SLA; to Combat Unit #4 of the Black Liberation Army; to comrade Martin Sostre and all other comrade sisters and brothers in Amerikkka's concentration camps.

To our beloved comrades-in-arms, Osceola and Bo, we echo the words you have often left us with: "A Luta Continua. Venceremos."

We have come together in many different cells, squads and military/political units. We have taken many different meaningful names. But we are not hung up on names, for, as comrades-in-arms, we are one in our struggle for freedom. The determination to eliminate our common enemy by force of arms has united us. To our comrade sisters and brothers of the Black Liberation Army and all other fighters, let it be known that the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army proudly takes up the banner of the New World Liberation Front.

On Friday, May 17, 1974, a CIA-directed force of FBI agents, Los Angeles City, County and California State pigs, with air support and reserve assistance from the United States Marine Corps and the National Guard, encircled elements of the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The result of the encirclement was that the people witnessed on live television the burning to death of six of their most beautiful and courageous freedom fighters by cowardly, fascist insects. In most cases when an urban guerrilla unit is encircled by the enemy, it can expect to take great losses, especially if the enemy has time to mobilize a massive force.

Our six comrades were not on a suicide mission, as the pigs would have us believe. They were attempting to break a battalion-sized encirclement. By looking at the diagrams of where their bodies were found, it is clear that they had split into two teams, moved to opposite sides of the rear of the house and were preparing to move out of the house by force. The heavy automatic weapons fired from the front of the house was a diversionary tactic.

I learned a lot from Cin and the comrades that died in that fire, and I'm still learning from them. They live on in the hearts and minds of millions of people in fascist Amerikkka. The pig's actions that Friday evening showed just how scared they really are. They would have burned and bombed that entire neighborhood to murder six guerrillas. The SLA terrifies the pigs because it calls all oppressed people in this country to arms to fight in a united front to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The pigs think they can deal with a handful of revolutionaries, but they know they can't defeat the incredible power which the people, once united, represent.

It's for this reason that we get to see -- live and in color -- the terrorist tactics of the pigs. The pigs saying, "You're next." This kind of display, however, only serves to raise the people's consciousness and makes it easier for our comrade sisters and brothers through out the country to connect.

I died in that fire on 54th Street, but out of the ashes I was reborn. I know what I have to do. Our comrades didn't die in vain. The pig lies about the advisability of surrender have only made me more determined. I renounced my class privilege when Cin and Kahjoh gave me the name Tania. While I have no death wish, I have never been afraid of death. For this reason, the brainwash/duress theory of the pig Hearsts has always amused me. Life is very precious to me, but I have no delusions that going to prison will keep me alive. I would never choose to live the rest of my life surrounded by pigs like the Hearsts. I want to see our comrades in this country's concentration camps, but on our terms as stated in our Declaration of Revolutionary War, not on the pigs terms.

Patria o muerte. Venceremos.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS ON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

June 6, 1974

Gelina would have yelled "Firepower to the People," if there wasn't the need to whisper the words of revolution. We laughed and cried and struggled together. She taught me how to fight the enemy within through her constant struggle with bourgeois conditioning.

Gabi crouched low with her ass to the ground. She practiced until her shotgun was an extension of her right and left arms, an impulse, a tool of survival. She understood the evil in the heart of the pig and took the only road that could demoralize, defeat and destroy him. She loved to touch people with a strong -- not delicate -- embrace. Gabi taught me the patience and discipline necessary for survival and victory.

Zoya wanted to give meaning to her name, and on her birthday she did. Zoya, female guerrilla, perfect love and perfect hate reflected in stone cold eyes. She moved viciously and with caution, understanding the peril of the smallest mistake. She taught me, "Keep your ass down and be bad."

Fahizah was a beautiful sister who didn't talk much but who was the teacher of many by her righteous example. She, more than any other had come to understand and conquer the putrid disease of bourgeois mentality. She proved often that she was unwilling to compromise with the enemy because of her intense love for freedom. Fahizah taught me the perils of hesitation -- to shoot first and make sure the pig is dead before splitting. She was wise and bad, and I'll always love her.

Cinque loved the people with tenderness and respect. They listened to him when he talked because they knew that his love reflected the truth and the future. Cin knew that to live was to shoot straight. He longed to be with his Black sisters and brothers, but at the same time he wanted to prove to Black people that White freedom fighters are comrades-in-arms. Cinque was in a race with time, believing that every minute must be another step forward in the fight to save the children. He taught me virtually everything imaginable, but wasn't liberal with us. He'd kick our asses if we didn't hop over a fence fast enough or keep our asses down while practicing. Most importantly, he taught me how to show my love for the people. He helped me see that it's not how long you live that's important, it's how we live, what we decide to do with our lives. On February 4th Cinque Stume saved my life.

It was beautiful to hear Gabi's father. He understands. Gabi loved her father, and I know that much of her strength came from the support he gave her. What a difference between the parents of Gabi and Kahjoh and my parents. One day, just before making the last tape, Kahjoh and I were talking about the way my parents were fucking me over. He said that his parents were still his parents because they had never betrayed him, but my parents were really Malcolm X and Assata Shakur. I'll never betray my parents.

There's been a lot of talk about wasted lives, referring to the six dead bodies of our comrades and to Tania, Toko and myself. The ironies of racist, fascist Amerikkka are once again reflected with sickening reminder. There are no editorials written for the wasted lives of the brothers and sisters daily gunned down in the streets and prisons. The present uproar of white Amerikkka over the fate of Patty Hearst was barely a murmur, as hundreds of young men mostly Black and Brown, went off to die in Vietnam.

Our past as middle class white Amerikkkans was meaningless. It was truly wasted potential, filled with desperate pessimism that could feel the emptiness of capitalist Amerikkka even before we could understand it. Our lives now are not easy or full of joy. We may die. But our lives are real, because we see the truth and the future. Right now the people are igniting the spark of a great prairie fire, and the fire-fighters will soon be helpless against the freedom fighters because the flames will be far too hot and deadly for their weak will to endure, and their evil spirit will die with them in the ashes.

Once again, my love to all the comrades.

Greetings to the people. This is Tania. I want to talk about the war I knew our six murdered comrades because the fascist pig media has, of course, been painting a typically distorted picture of these beautiful sisters and brothers.

Kahjoh was the gentlest, most beautiful man I've ever known. He taught me the truth as he learned it from the beautiful brothers in California's concentration camps. We loved each other so much, and his love for the people was so deep that he was willing to give his life for them. The name Kahjoh means "unconquerable." It was the perfect name for him. Kahjoh conquered life as well as death by facing them both and fighting. Neither Kahjoh or I had ever loved an individual the way we loved each other, probably because our relationship wasn't based on bourgeois, fucked up values, attitudes and goals. Our relationship's foundation was our commitment to the struggle and our love for the people. It's because of this that I still feel strong and determined to fight.

I was ripped by the pigs when they murdered Kahjoh, ripped off in the same way that thousands of sisters and brothers in this fascist country have been ripped off from people they love. We mourn together, and the sound of gunfire becomes sweeter.

Gelina was beautiful. Fire and joy. She exploded with the desire to kill the pigs. She wrote poetry -- some of it on the walls of Golden Gate, all of it in the LA pig files now -- that expresses how she felt. She loved the people more than her love for any one person or material comfort, and she never let her mind rest from the strategies that are the blood of revolution.

To all those whose fear is stronger than their hatred of the pig, I must say that the freedom fighters do not bring repression to your door. The fascist pig is responsible for this, and soon even those of you with White skins will lose your privileges. The pig will no longer knock and be very polite. He will shoot to kill. He will burn and rape. He will imprison and starve. He does this already in the ghettos of this country, and will expand his efforts to stay in his greed-filled position of power. And if people wish to survive, they will have to defend themselves with as much rage as the pig would use against them. Only in this way can the people in this country avoid the mass genocide that occurred to Jews in Germany and leftists in Chile.

To all those who have attempted to express their love for us by calling for our surrender, we say, we must express our feelings of love only by continuing the fight. We renounce our class and race privilege and say that we love no individual more than we love freedom.

The fight has cost us of the SLA eight comrades: six dead and two in concentration camps, as well as the death and imprisonment of our comrades-in-arms of the BLA, the BCP and the Weather Underground. We clearly understand that the reality of revolution will include death and imprisonment, suffering and violence, as well as victory. The price is high, but we accepted this reality when we picked up the gun for the first time and nodded yes to freedom, to love, to living. Because we must endure the suffering does not mean we have any doubt in the beauty of the victory.

Our comrades died the way they chose to live -- fighting courageously. They did not compromise to the hundreds of insects crawling the community who resorted to burning them to death rather than facing in battle the ruthless strength and courage of freedom fighters. 54th Street is not an end, but a beginning.

All comrades, dead and alive, in prison and out, underground and on the streets, are calling on all the people to conquer the fear and join the battle, realizing what can happen when 500 pigs surround a house, and then are surrounded by 50 or 100 or 500 irate niggers firing from their houses, alleyways, treetops and walls with a straight and fearless shot to bring down the helicopter, the SWAT squad, the LAPD, the FBI, the neighborhood snitch. Consider the day when the pig won't even enter the communities of the armed people. We've got to make the pig fear for his life, because he knows every eye behind every curtain in the ghettos, barrios and poor communities is sighting down the barrel of a piece ready to pull the trigger at any moment.

Greetings of profound love to the people, to all comrades-in-arms, to all comrades in concentration camps in fascist America and to all the children. This is Yolanda speaking.

When we say revolution, we do not use the word loosely. By revolution we mean the violent fight for freedom -- freedom that can be gained in no other way than by fighting. People do not fight because they enjoy it or because they relish the thought of their own death or the deaths of their beloved comrades. They fight to survive, because they understand the violence of fascism; and that violence means genocidal death at the hands of dictators who massed 500 pigs, armed with military weapons, fragmentary grenades and incendiary grenades, to burn six people to death; dictators who have imprisoned over 22,000 sisters and brothers in the state of California alone; dictators who take jobs away from those who are asking for work; dictators who take food from the mouths of those who are starving; dictators who take joy from the hearts of those who love the people.

The military/industrial state of the ruling class can only survive through repression. These fascist dogs must destroy truth in the minds of the people to keep them pacified. They must make people afraid so that they'll do nothing. They must make people feel isolated from each other and powerless. Fascism tries to do all these things through the brutal violence of the military police force, the lurking big-brother presence of the FBI, CIA and their computer files, through media propaganda.

Fascism tries to tell us we are fools to resist, because in the end we will be destroyed. If we were only six people, they would be correct, for they can destroy the lives of six, or nine, or even one hundred people. But the truth the pigs try so desperately to repress is one the people are coming to understand only too well. People are ridding themselves of the bourgeois desire to lead a long life, and instead wish to fight for a better, more human life. Yes, repression breeds resistance.

We must face the inevitable truth that repression will grow more intense as the power hungry pigs see their grip slipping. Whites in this country have historically had a tendency to back off when repression intensified, feeling they could escape the viscious tentacles. For this reason, Black, Brown, Asian and Indian brothers and sisters have not trusted Whites, feeling that they would desert the fight as it was just beginning in order to save their own skin. These sisters and brothers were often proven correct. That is why we say anyone who loves freedom must prove this love through action, not words.

So we are freedom fighters. We may be murdered, but whether we live or die, the day is close at hand when the people will join together in an army because they wish to survive on their own terms, and the people will change the course of history through their courage and determination.

tic to force the pigs to concentrate some of their forces in the front. The two dynamite-loaded pipe bombs were to be used as fragmentation grenades to clear a path through the cringing pigs who had started the blaze by firing incendiary grenades into the house.

Cin, Fahizah, Zoya, Kahjoh, Gelina and Gabi died of smoke inhalation and burns before they could get outside. The pigs want us to believe that the fire was started by the SLA; that it was caused by SLA molotov cocktails; or by accident from pig tear gas grenades. This is pig shit. The SWAT squad, FBI and LAPD would have had to go into the house themselves to clear it out. They showed their true cowardice by using incendiary grenades to cause the fire that killed our comrades.

For those that don't know, incendiary grenades burn at such an incredible temperature that they melt steel and armor plate in a matter of seconds and are impossible to extinguish.

The pigs want the people to believe that the bad-ass tactics of the SLA guerrillas drove the fascists to use such barbaric force. But we say that the SLA is a reaction to fascism. The SLA uses automatic weapons and home-made bombs because the pigs have automatic weapons, artillery and hydrogen bombs.

The pigs want the people to believe that General Field Marshal Cinque Mtume committed suicide. To this absurdity, the SLA responds by quoting our beloved comrade brother. He often said: "We must not fear death, for to fear death is to put our fear of pig terror before our love of the children and the people's struggle for freedom." Cinque Mtume, himself, was the spirit of Fredrick Douglass, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Marcus Garvey, the Scottsborough Boys, Medgar Evers, William E. Burkhardt DeBois, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Emmett Till, lil' Bobby Hutton, Fred Hampton, L.D. Barkley, Jonathan and George L. Jackson, Mark Essex and every other Black freedom fighter who came before him.

Pigs tell us it is suicidal for Whites to join Blacks and other oppressed people in making revolution. To this oinking we say, it is suicidal for the ruling class and all its pig agents to believe that they can continue to oppress, exploit, murder and imprison an undivided revolutionary army of people. White Amerikkans who follow the example of our beautiful comrades and join the fight for the freedom of all oppressed people will not do so because they wish to die, but because they wish to be free. The pigs boast that they have broken the back of the Symbionese Liberation Army. But to do this, the pigs would have to break the back of the people. The military/political leader of the SLA and five top cadre have been killed by the fascists. However the SLA is not dead and will not die as long as there is one living, fighting member of any oppressed class, race, sex or group left on the face of this earth. The pigs have won a battle, but the war of the flea is not over. As our dear comrade Ho Chi Minh once wrote from an imperialist prison, "Today the locust fights the elephant, but tomorrow the elephant will be disembowled."

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR
THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS
EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

Greetings to the people, the Black Liberation Army, the United People's Liberation Army, the Black Guerrilla Family, the Weather Underground and all freedom fighters of the United Symbionese Federation and the New World Liberation Front.

This is Teko speaking. Yolanda, Tania and I extend profound feelings of revolutionary love and solidarity to General Field Marshal Cabrilla and all soldiers of the United People's Liberation Army; to B-team Commander and all elements of the Anti-Aircraft Forces of the SLA; to Combat Unit #4 of the Black Liberation Army; to comrade Martin Sostre and all other comrade sisters and brothers in Amerikkka's concentration camps.

To our beloved comrades-in-arms, Osceola and Bo, we echo the words you have often left us with: "A Luta Continua. Venceremos."

We have come together in many different cells, squads and military/political units. We have taken many different meaningful names. But we are not hung up on names, for, as comrades-in-arms, we are one in our struggle for freedom. The determination to eliminate our common enemy by force of arms has united us. To our comrade sisters and brothers of the Black Liberation Army and all other fighters, let it be known that the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army proudly takes up the banner of the New World Liberation Front.

On Friday, May 17, 1974, a CIA-directed force of FBI agents, Los Angeles City, County and California State pigs, with air support and reserve assistance from the United States Marine Corps and the National Guard, encircled elements of the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The result of the encirclement was that the people witnessed on live television the burning to death of six of their most beautiful and courageous freedom fighters by cowardly, fascist insects. In most cases when an urban guerrilla unit is encircled by the enemy, it can expect to take great losses, especially if the enemy has time to mobilize a massive force.

Our six comrades were not on a suicide mission, as the pigs would have us believe. They were attempting to break a battalion-sized encirclement. By looking at the diagrams of where their bodies were found, it is clear that they had split into two teams, moved to opposite sides of the rear of the house and were preparing to move out of the house by force. The heavy automatic weapons fired from the front of the house was a diversionary tactic.

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I was ripped by the pigs when they murdered Kahjoh, ripped off in the same way that thousands of sisters and brothers in this fascist country have been ripped off from people they love. We mourn together, and the sound of gunfire becomes sweeter.

Galina was beautiful. Fire and joy. She exploded with the desire to kill the pigs. She wrote poetry -- some of it on the walls of Golden Gate, all of it in the LA pig files now -- that expresses how she felt. She loved the people more than her love for any one person or material comfort, and she never let her mind rest from the strategies that are the blood of revolution.

Gelina would have yelled "Firepower to the People," if there wasn't the need to whisper the words of revolution. We laughed and cried and struggled together. She taught me how to fight the enemy within through her constant struggle with bourgeois conditioning.

Gabi crouched low with her ass to the ground. She practiced until her shotgun was an extension of her right and left arms, an impulse, a tool of survival. She understood the evil in the heart of the pig and took the only road that could demoralize, defeat and destroy him. She loved to touch people with a strong -- not delicate -- embrace. Gabi taught me the patience and discipline necessary for survival and victory.

Zoya wanted to give meaning to her name, and on her birthday she did. Zoya, female guerrilla, perfect love and perfect hate reflected in stone cold eyes. She moved viciously and with emotion, understanding the peril of the smallest mistake. She taught me, "Keep your ass down and be bad."

Fahizah was a beautiful sister who didn't talk much, but who was the teacher of many by her righteous example. She, more than any other had come to understand and conquer the putrid disease of bourgeois mentality. She proved often that she was unwilling to compromise with the enemy because of her intense love for freedom. Fahizah taught me the perils of hesitation -- to shoot first and make sure the pig is dead before splitting. She was wise and bad, and I'll always love her.

Cinque loved the people with tenderness and respect. They listened to him when he talked because they knew that his love reflected the truth and the future. Cin knew that to live was to shoot straight. He longed to be with his Black sisters and brothers, but at the same time he wanted to prove the Black people that White freedom fighters are comrades-in-arms. Cinque was in a race with time, believing that every minute must be another step forward in the fight to save the children. He taught me virtually everything imaginable, but wasn't liberal with us. He'd kick our asses if we didn't hop over a fence fast enough or keep our asses down while practicing. Most importantly, he taught me how to show my love for the people. He helped me see that it's not how long you live that's important, it's how we live, what we decide to do with our lives. On February 4th Cinque Mture saved my life.

It was beautiful to hear Gabi's father. He understands. Gabi loved her father, and I know that much of her strength came from the support he gave her. What a difference between the parents of Gabi and Kahjoh and my parents. One day, just before making the last tape, Kahjoh and I were talking about the way my parents were fucking me over. He said that his parents were still his parents because they had never betrayed him, but my parents were really Malcolm X and Assata Shakur. I'll never betray my parents.

I learned a lot from Cin and the comrades that died in that fire, and I'm still learning from them. They live on in the hearts and minds of millions of people in fascist Amerikkka. The pig's actions that Friday evening showed just how scared they really are. They would have burned and bombed that entire neighborhood to murder six guerrillas. The SLA terrifies the pigs because it calls all oppressed people in this country to arms to fight in a united front to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The pigs think they can deal with a handful of revolutionaries, but they know they can't defeat the incredible power which the people, once united, represent.

It's for this reason that we get to see -- live and in color -- the terrorist tactics of the pigs. The pigs saying, "You're next." This kind of display, however, only serves to raise the people's consciousness and makes it easier for our comrade sisters and brothers through out the country to connect.

I died in that fire on 54th Street, but out of the ashes I was reborn. I know what I have to do. Our comrades didn't die in vain. The pig lies about the advisability of surrender have only made me more determined. I renounced my class privilege when Cin and Kahjoh gave me the name Tania. While I have no death wish, I have never been afraid of death. For this reason, the brainwash/duress theory of the pig Hearsts has always amused me. Life is very precious to me, but I have no delusions that going to prison will keep me alive. I would never choose to live the rest of my life surrounded by pigs like the Hearsts. I want to see our comrades in this country's concentration camps, but on our terms as stated in our Declaration of Revolutionary War, not on the pigs terms.

Patria o muerte. Venceremos.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT
THAT PREYS ON THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

June 6, 1974



DATE: June 12, 1975

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY: SLA Strategic Command

SUBJECT: The Executions of Popaye Jackson and Sally Vey

TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE,
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.

INFORMANTS

"Our worst enemies are the spies who infiltrate our ranks.
Any who are discovered must be punished by death, as also
must deserters who inform the police of what they know."

-- Carlos Marighella

"All paid or unpaid informants operating within the community
against the people and the guerrilla forces are sentenced
without trial to immediate death."

-- SLA Codes of War

Being an informer is a deadly serious offense against the
people and the revolution. The process of denouncing and admin-
istering revolutionary justice to informers is also deadly
serious. In all cases, concrete evidence of complicity with
the enemy must be known and presented to support the action.

It is not sufficient to base accusations on subjective
analysis or on details of opportunistic personal behavior.
If an accusation is carried out without a sound analysis, then
the people and guerrilla are alerted within the Left and throughout
the community. Even if the person executed is a spy,
the act is clearly understood by the people, and the people
draw a distinction to the field of unity between the

... of the ... (unlike ...) and the ... Front ...
... of the ... of ... and the ... of ...
... should be ... to ...
... the ... is not ... or ... is also
nothing ... a criminal act, and is therefore indefensible.

POPEYE JACKSON AND SALLY VOYE: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

On June 3, 1975 the NWLF issued an open letter to Popeye Jackson and the people asking him to respond to questions they had about his revolutionary practice. We recognize the seriousness of the allegations in the letter and we believe that it was Popeye's responsibility to respond to them. It is our information that he fully intended to do this.

On June 4, 1975 Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer were executed. There was immediate suspicion, especially within the UFW, that the action was carried out by police agents. Two days later a communique was delivered to the San Francisco Chronicle by a group claiming the action in the name of the NWLF. The communique said that Popeye had been executed for working as a big game UFW's response to the communique was a denunciation of the NWLF. The next day the NWLF issued a communique denying responsibility for the act. They restated their allegations against Popeye, explaining that any evidence they had was not enough to warrant the carrying out an execution. They called on the people who carried out the action to present evidence that would prove that Popeye deserved to be executed.

POPEYE JACKSON

We have long considered Popeye Jackson to be a friend and comrade. We supported his work in the prison movement, and his outspoken stance in critically supporting guerrilla fighters. Popeye was constantly under harassment from the pigs because of his uncompromising position in support of armed struggle and the rights of the convicted class. Like Sally Voyer, we have a knowledge of or have read in the pig media.

At this point there is no conclusive proof about whether the actions of Popeye and Sally were carried out by guerrillas or police counter-intelligence agents. The communique claiming responsibility for the act was totally incredible. It didn't contain any facts of collaboration on Popeye's part with the NWLF. It was a mere allegation. It was a mere allegation that Popeye's relationship with the NWLF was such that he would have been able to carry out the execution. It was a mere allegation that Popeye was a big game UFW's response to the communique was a denunciation of the NWLF. The next day the NWLF issued a communique denying responsibility for the act. They restated their allegations against Popeye, explaining that any evidence they had was not enough to warrant the carrying out an execution. They called on the people who carried out the action to present evidence that would prove that Popeye deserved to be executed.

to ask the NLF's only for an analysis of this situation from its comrades in prison and for an explanation of why it was executed from the people who did it. If this action can't be further explained to have no choice but to conclude that it was either carried out by counter-intelligence forces or by horribly misguided "revolutionaries".

IN CONSPIRACIES IN THE ABC/RESCUE MOVEMENT:

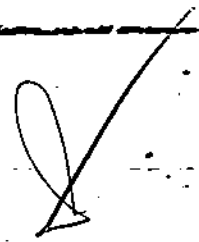
The Left must constantly be aware of the lengths to which the pigs will go in order to sabotage the revolutionary movement. Operation Phoenix in Viet Nam and the recent revelations of CIA/NSA operations in the U.S. are perfect illustrations of this. We clearly understand what it means to have our comrades killed by the enemy. This is the way the pigs have always operated: George Jackson, Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, Sam Adams, and our other comrades, just to name a few.

The UPU clearly had this in mind when they made their first comments concerning Popeye's death. But when the communists arrived which claimed responsibility for the execution, the UPU seemed to ignore the past practice of the pigs and forgot the past practice of the NLF. The New World Liberation Front had demonstrated a high degree of tactical sophistication and political understanding in all their actions. The superficial quality of this first communique should not have led the UPU to conclude absolutely that the NLF executed Popeye. Only days before the execution was carried out, at least 100 counter-intelligence agents under the pseudonym of "U.S. Treasury Agents" were sent from Washington, D.C. to the San Francisco Bay Area. Their directive was to destroy and discredit guerrilla forces in the Bay Area, specifically the NLF. Since the arrival of these agents, several comrades were murdered under suspicious circumstances. A powerful anti-personnel bomb was discovered at a high school graduation in San Jose.

We cannot discount the possibility that these acts were carried out by the enemy to destroy the prison movement and discredit revolutionaries. Revolutionaries must be committed to maintaining objectivity in analyzing guerrilla actions. We must recognize the past practice of both the guerrilla and the pigs and be vigilant about discerning the difference between the two. Only through mutual respect and criticism of revolutionaries on the different fronts can we maintain the unity necessary for our movement's survival and ultimate victory.

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE



SUBJECT HEARNAP

FILE NO. 7-15200

SECTION NO. Bulky EXHIBIT FOR

 Serial -7919

(PART IV)

OF
4 Parts

Q 2160
2181

Crusade of the Left
Robert A. Rosenstone
(Pegasus)

Mau Mau From Within
Donald L. Barnett
Karari Njama
(Modern Reader Paperbacks)

The Morning Deluge
Han Suyin
(Little, Brown & Co.)

Notes From The Warsaw Ghetto
The journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum
ed. Jacob Sloan
(Schocken Paperbacks)

7-15200

PF

2181
02160

FBI

cat food
beef bouillon cubes
strainer/drainner
wine

screw driver
hammer

~~money order~~
~~material~~
~~knee hi stockings~~
~~oven cleaner~~

stopper for tub

~~3/6/90~~

~~3/90~~

(garage)

bedroom door
mail box
- fix & key

94112

The Winter Soldier Investigation
An Inquiry Into American Chinese
U.V.A.W., Inc.
(Blackman Press)

Joseph Stalin
(Pretarian Publishers)

Colonel Question
Marxism and The National

James Boggs
(Modern Leader)

Racism and The Class Struggle

and
The American Revolution

<money order>

Woman's Estate

Book

Doris Lessing book

L.L. papers

hammer

toilet rod (over there)

strainer & chocolates

04112

basement door
mail box
- lock & key

(garage)

~~P. 6/8~~

~~Garbage~~

Toilet.

- ① Paint all red areas white

7-15200 PF 02181

Bathroom

- ① *Paint window*
- ② *Paint light in ceiling*

7-15200 PF 2160 Q2181

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dressing room

- ① Paint inside of closet
- ② Paint top of dressing table & square above it
- ③ Polish floor
- ④ Fill in cracks in floor

7-15200 PF 2160
Q2181

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bedrooms

- ① Fill holes
- ② Paint yellow areas
- ③ Paint window sills
- ④ Polish floors
- ⑤ Fill in cracks in floor

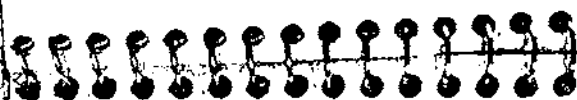
7-15200 PF 02181

FBI

Hall to front door

- ① Fill all holes
- ② Paint walls
- ③ Varnish banister & railing

7-15200 PF 02181



185	-	200	360
175	-		
200	-		
<u>560</u>	-		

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JD	R
Ch	E
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7-15200 PF 2160
QZ181

Argentina

938.2073

5900 Wilkine

7-15200 PE 02181

2160

ID
Powder
Shoe
Grip
Glove
Bag
Magnet
Paint - brown-white
Tape
Nails

7-15200 PF 02101

~~Goodman~~

839-2293

10367 ~~Nashua~~

\$9.50/day 94 annulo

PL ~~major credit~~

Rite Rate

670-7633

American R-C

674-9545

7-15200

PF

2160

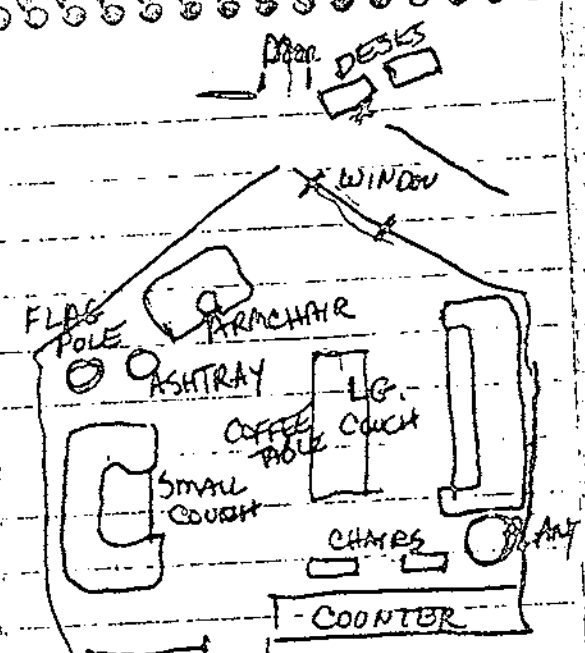
02181

3 men day \$275
5 6 windows

bedrms # 70 2
L.R. - 70 2
D.R. - 70 2 (10)
B.R. - 45 1
K - 65 (10)
Hall - 20
Bath 30

~~\$200~~
\$400

7-15200 PF 02181
JUL 1960



OE. #748 7th floor
5900 Wilshire
HRS 9:30-2:30 M-F

Hall to bedrooms

- ① Fill in holes
- ② Paint walls, but not ceiling
- ③ Patch and paint 2 doors with holes in them
- ④ Paint recessed area for telephone
- ⑤ Polish floor
- ⑥ Patch creaky spots in floor

7-15200 PF 02181

Kitchen

- ① Fill in holes
- ② Paint walls, but
not cabinets or ceiling
- ③ Wash walls; cabinets
- ④ Clean floor

7-15200 PF 02182

Dinette

- ① Paint walls
- ② Wash cabinet
- ③ Paint flat part of
cabinet top
- ④ Clean floor

7-15200 PF 02181

2160

Dining Room

- ① Paint blue area
- ② Remove metal plate
from door
- ③ Remove paint from
woodwork

Get paint off floor
Polish floor

7-15200

PF

Q2181

U-1000 JR

SS ^{PM}
9/22/75

Living Room

- ① Paint all walls
- ② Paint black portion
of fireplace
- ③ Varnish windows
- ④ Patch nail holes
- ⑤ Wash brick on fireplace
- ⑥ Patch window
- ⑦ Wash walls
- ⑧ Refinish floor

7-15200

PF

Q2481

Q2152-2162

Cover of VVAW Photo book

~~Frank~~
~~Joe~~
FBI

...rated ran
No,

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old man
F.

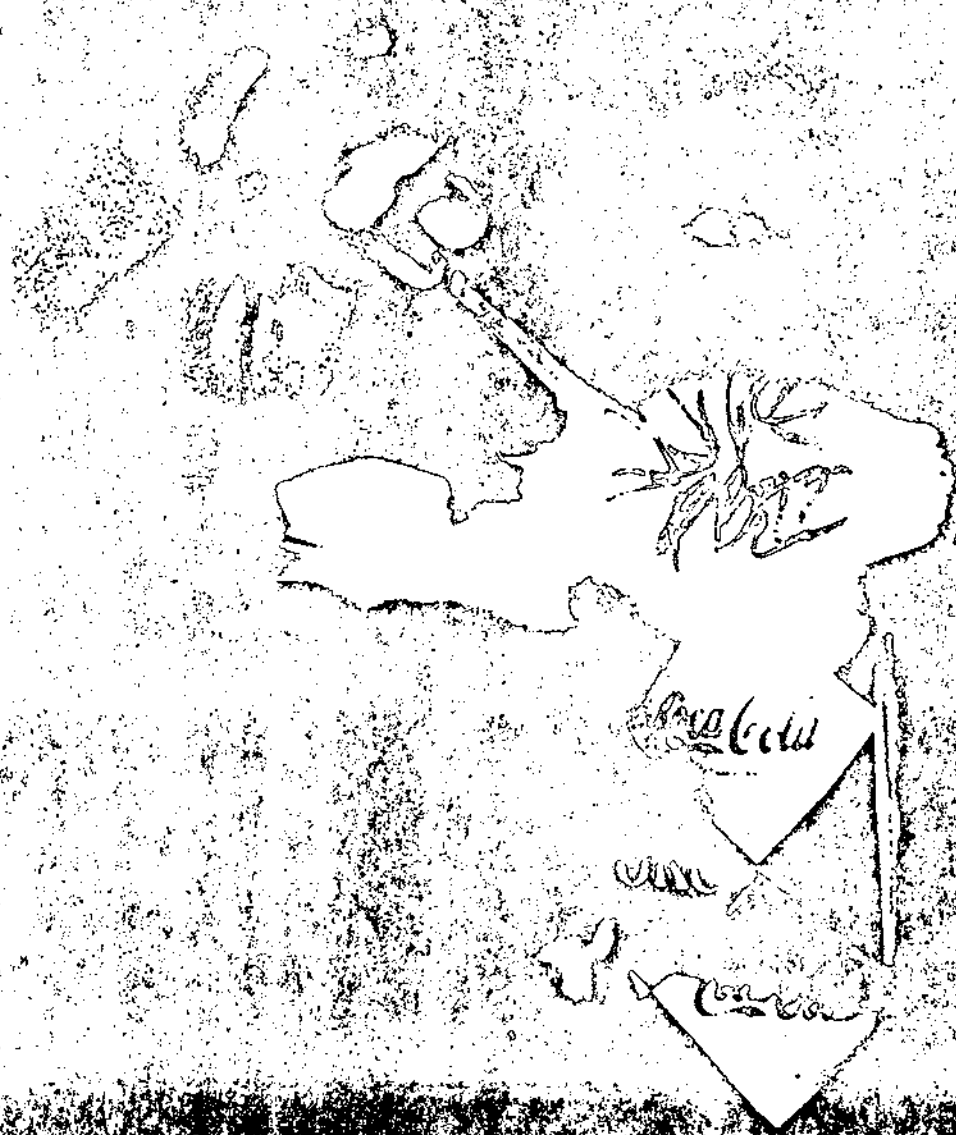
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face No
woman
bottom
right
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faces
F.
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VIETNAM IN

Philip Jones Griffiths



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forces
woman
bottom
right
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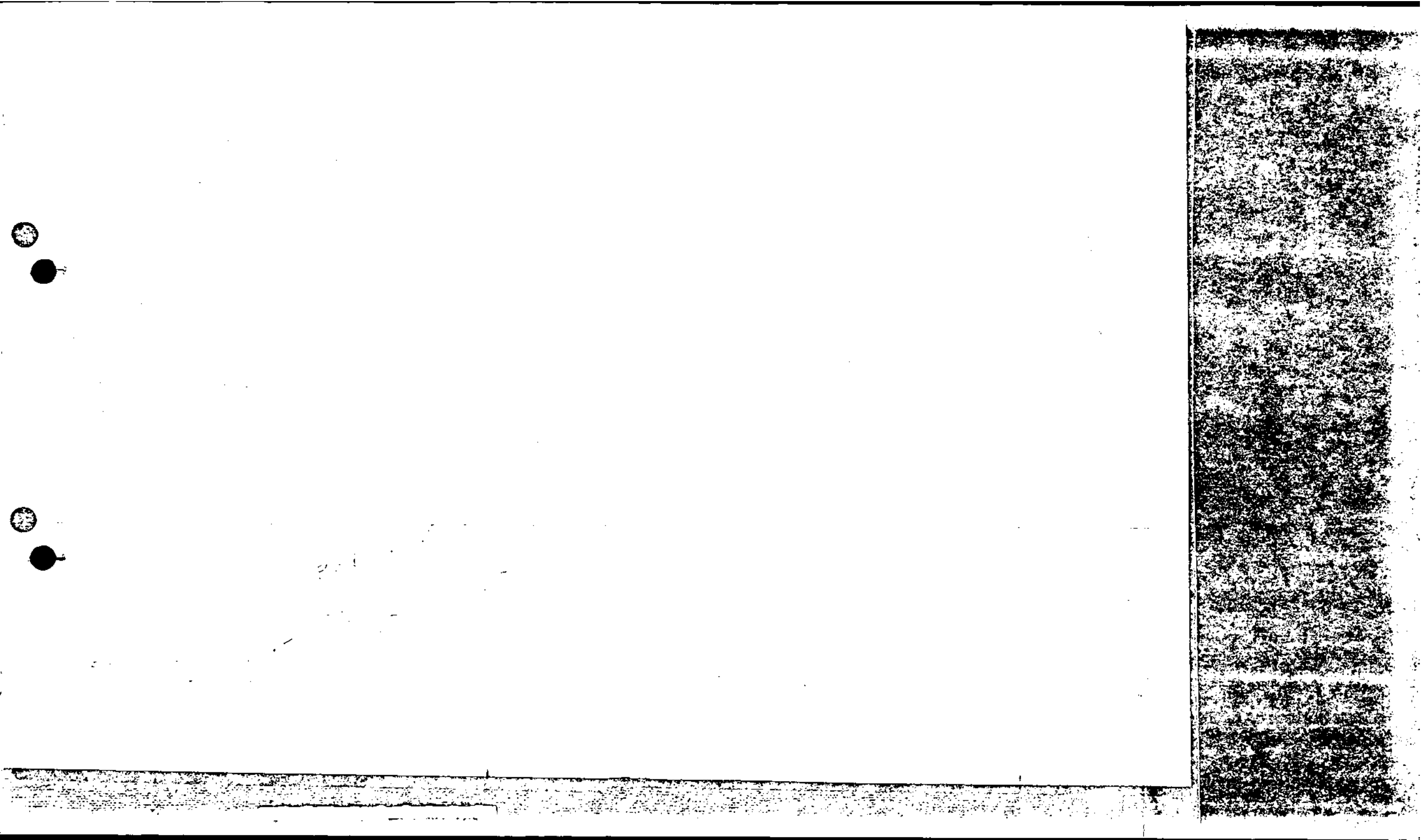
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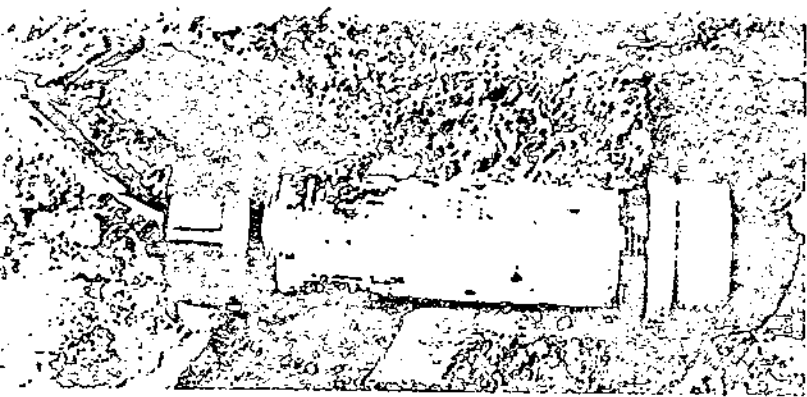


Figure 39. Pipe bomb prior to explosion.



Figure 40. Evidence remaining after explosion of pipe bomb.

The photographs show the bomb (essentially a non-electric charge), and the evidence remaining after the explosion. As can be seen in Figure 38, pieces of burned safety fuse remain. A streamlined object, such as safety fuse, withstands the force of the explosion very well. Dirt or material blackened by the explosion should also be gathered and retained for laboratory analysis. A crime laboratory can determine the explosive used through analysis of the residue of the explosive deposited on the dirt or material.

STRAIGHT BOMB—CONTAINED

In this instance a pipe bomb has been constructed. A section of two inch pipe, threaded and capped at each end and containing a stick of dynamite, a non-electric blasting cap and time fuse is used. See Figures 39 and 40. As can be seen in Figure 40, the evidence remaining definitely identifies this as having been a homemade pipe bomb initiated non-electrically. Note the threaded pieces of pipe. The remaining portion of time fuse is not shown. The metal fragments of the bomb case are thinned and jagged due to swelling of the bomb case prior to its fragmentation. Fragments of any type of container used *will* be found after an explosion has taken place.

PACKAGED TIME BOMB—CLOCKWORK TRIGGER— ELECTRICALLY INITIATED

In this instance we have a clockwork trigger (alarm clock), an electric blasting cap, two 1½ volt batteries ("D" cells), and five sticks of dynamite plus packaging materials. The package consisted of a plywood frame inside a corrugated cardboard box, wrapped in common brown wrapping paper, tied with cord and labeled as shown in Figures 41 and 42. Figure 42 shows the interior packaging and contents. At a pre-set time the alarm goes off. The alarm winding key turns causing two metal contact wires to touch and complete an electrical circuit. The 1½ volt batteries produce enough current to fire the electric blasting cap and explode the bomb. The evidence retrieved after the explosion of this bomb, see Figure 43, consists of wood fragments, cardboard, wrapping paper, electric blasting cap lead wire, fragments of

By

MAJOR JOSEPH F. STOFFEL, AUS (Ret)

EXPLOSIVES AND HOMEMADE BOMBS

Second Printing



CHARLES C THOMAS • PUBLISHER
Springfield • Illinois • U.S.A.

7-15200 PF Q2150

had a smile on your puss!" . . . "Nasty little brat. If I were your father I would spank you so hard you wouldn't know what hit you!" . . . Their violence is amazing. Yet these men feel that the woman or the child is to blame for not being "friendly." Because it makes them uncomfortable to know that the woman or the child or the black or the workman is grumbling, the oppressed groups must also appear to like their oppression—smiling and simpering though they may feel like hell inside. The smile is the child/woman equivalent of the shuffle; it indicates acquiescence of the victim to his own oppression.

In my own case, I had to train myself out of that phony smile, which is like a nervous tic on every teenage girl. And this meant that I smiled rarely, for in truth, when it came down to real smiling, I had less to smile about. My "dream" action for the women's liberation movement: a smile boycott, at which declaration all women would instantly abandon their "pleasing" smiles, henceforth smiling only when something pleased them. Likewise children's liberation would demand an end to all fondling not dictated by the child itself. (This of course would predicate a society in which fondling in general was no longer frowned upon; often the only demonstration of affection a child now receives is of this phony kind, which he may still consider better than nothing.) Many men can't understand that their easy intimacies come as no privilege. Do they ever consider that the real person inside that baby or female animal may not choose to be fondled then, or by them, or even noticed? Imagine this man's own consternation were some stranger to approach him on the street in a similar manner—patting, gurgling, muttering baby talk—without respect for his profession or his "manhood."

In sum, if members of the working class and minority groups "act like children," it is because children of every class are lower-class, just as women have always been. The rise of the modern nuclear family, with its adjunct "childhood," tightened the noose around the already economically dependent group by extending and reinforcing what had been only a brief dependence, by the usual

The Case for Feminist Revolution

means: the development of a special ideology, of a special indigenous life style, language, dress, mannerisms, etc. And with the increase and exaggeration of children's dependence, woman's bondage to motherhood was also extended to its limits. Women and children were now in the same lousy boat. Their oppressions began to reinforce one another. To the mystique of the glories of childbirth, the grandeur of "natural" female creativity, was now added a new mystique about the glories of childhood itself and the "creativity" of childrearing. ("Why, my dear, what could be more creative than raising a child?") By now people have forgotten what history has proven: that "raising" a child is tantamount to retarding his development. The best way to raise a child is to LAY OFF.

II

OUR TIME: THE MYTH IS MAGNIFIED

What caused this?

We have seen how the increasing privatization of family life brought ever more oppression to its dependents, women and children. The interrelated myths of femininity and childhood were the instruments of this oppression. In the Victorian Era they reached such epic proportions that finally women rebelled—their rebellion peripherally affecting childhood. But the rebellion was destroyed before it could eliminate these myths. They went underground to reappear in a more insidious version, complicated by mass consumerism. For in fact nothing had changed. In Chapter 2 I described how the emancipation of women was subtly sabotaged; the same thing occurred in the corollary oppression "childhood."

The pseudo-emancipation of children exactly parallels the pseudo-emancipation of women: Though we have abolished all the superficial signs of oppression—the distinct and cumbersome clothing, the schoolmaster's rod—there is no question that the myth of childhood is flourishing in epic proportions, twentieth-century style: whole industries are built on the manufacture of special toys, games, baby food, breakfast food, children's books and

(MALE) CULTURE

Representation of the world, like the world-itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth.

Simone de Beauvoir

The relation of women to culture has been indirect. We have discussed how the present psychical organization of the two sexes dictates that most women spend their emotional energy on men, whereas men "sublimate" theirs into work. In this way women's love becomes raw fuel for the cultural machine. (Not to mention the Great Ideas born rather more directly from early-morning boudoir discussions.)

In addition to providing its emotional support, women had another important indirect relation to culture: they inspired it. The Muse was female. Men of culture were emotionally warped by the sublimation process; they converted life to art, thus could not live it. But women, and those men who were excluded from culture, remained in direct contact with their experience—fit subject matter.

That women were intrinsic to the very content of culture is borne out by an example from the history of art: Men are erotically stimulated by the opposite sex; painting was male; the nude became a female nude. Where

The Case for Feminist Revolution

the art of the male nude reached high levels, either in the work of an individual artist, e.g., Michelangelo, or in a whole artistic period, such as that of classical Greece, men were homosexual. → bisexual

The subject matter of art, when there is any, is today even more largely inspired by women. Imagine the elimination of women characters from popular films and novels, even from the work of "highbrow" directors—Antonioni, Bergman, or Godard; there wouldn't be much left. For in the last few centuries, particularly in popular culture—perhaps related to the problematic position of women in society—women have been the main subject of art. In fact, in scanning blurbs of even one month's cultural production, one might believe that women were all anyone ever thought about.

But what about the women who have contributed directly to culture? There aren't many. And in those cases where individual women have participated in male culture, they have had to do so on male terms. And it shows. Because they have had to compete as men, in a male game—while still being pressured to prove themselves in their old female roles, a role at odds with their self-appointed ambitions—it is not surprising that they are seldom as skilled as men at the game of culture.

And it is not just a question of being as competent, it is also a question of being authentic. We have seen in the context of love how modern women have imitated male psychology, confusing it with health, and have thereby ended up even worse off than men themselves: they were not even being true to homegrown sicknesses. And there are even more complex layers to this question of authenticity: women have no means of coming to an understanding of what their experience is, or even that it is different from male experience. The tool for representing, for objectifying one's experience in order to deal with it, culture, is so saturated with male bias that women almost never have a chance to see themselves culturally through their own eyes. So that finally, signals from their direct experi-

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

SHULAMITH FIRESTONE is a founder of the Women's Liberation Movement, notably Redstockings and N. Y. Radical Feminists, and of the radical feminist journal, NOTES (editor, NOTES FROM THE FIRST YEAR, NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR). She is now at work on a new project to be published in 1972.

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7-15200 PF 02158

THE DIALECTIC OF SEX
THE CASE FOR FEMINIST REVOLUTION
BY SHULAMITH FIRESTONE

7-15200 PF Q2158

10/10/72

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NESS AND ECONOMISM

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the government"* (and, naturally, corresponding to this
struggle which is "easily understood" by the mass movement
must be an organization that will be "easily understood" by
the most untrained youth). Others, far removed from any
kind of "gradualness," began to say: it is possible and nec-
essary to "bring about a political revolution," but that does
not require building a strong organization of revolutionaries
to train the proletariat in the steadfast and stubborn struggle.
All we need do is to snatch up our old friend, the "handy" sewist
wooden club. Speaking without metaphor it means — we
must organize a general strike,** or we must stimulate the
"spiritless" progress of the working-class movement by means
of "excitative terror."*** Both these trends, the opportunists
and the "revolutionists," bow to the prevailing amateurish-
ness; neither believes that it can be eliminated, neither under-
stands our primary and most imperative practical task,
namely, to establish an organization of revolutionaries capable
of maintaining the energy, stability and continuity of the
political struggle.

We have just quoted the words of B — v: "The growth of
the working-class movement is outstripping the growth and
development of the revolutionary organizations." This
"valuable remark of a close observer" (the *Rabocheye Dyelo*'s
comment on B — v's article) has a twofold value for us.
It shows that we were right in our opinion that the principal
cause of the present crisis in Russian Social-Democracy is

* The *Rabochaya Mysl* and the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, especially the *Reply*
to Plekhanov.

** See "Who Will Bring About the Political Revolution?" in the
symposium published in Russia, entitled *The Proletarian Struggle*.
Reissued by the Kiev Committee.

*** *Regeneration of Revolutionism* and the *Sevoda*.

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symposium published in Russia, entitled *The Proletarian Struggle*.
Reissued by the Kiev Committee.

*** *Regeneration of Revolutionism and the School*.

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— 118 —

amateurishness - denotes narrow
 scope of revolutionary activity
 + ~~and~~ reliance on spontaneity
 B. AMATEURISHNESS AND ECONOMISM

We must now deal with a question that has undoubtedly arisen in the mind of every reader. Can a connection be established between amateurishness, this disorder of growth affecting the whole of the movement, and Economism, which is one of the trends in Russian Social-Democracy? We think that it can. Lack of practical training, lack of ability to carry on organizational work is certainly common to us all, including those who have from the very outset unswervingly stood for revolutionary Marxism. And, of course, were it only lack of practical training, no one could blame the practical workers. But the term "amateurishness" embraces something else: it denotes a narrow scope of revolutionary work generally, failure to understand that a good organization of revolutionaries cannot be built up on the basis of such narrow activity, and lastly - and most important - it denotes attempts to justify this narrowness and to elevate it to a special "theory," i.e., bowing in worship to spontaneity on this question too. Once such attempts were observed, it became certain that amateurishness is connected with Economism and that we shall never eliminate this narrowness of our organizational activity until we eliminate Economism generally (i.e., the narrow conception of Marxist theory, of the role of Social-Democracy and of its political tasks). And these attempts were revealed in a twofold-direction. Some began to say: the mass of workers themselves have not yet advanced the broad and militant political tasks that the revolutionaries are attempting to "impose" upon them; they must continue, for the time being, to fight for immediate political demands, to conduct "the economic struggle against the employers and

the government"* (and, naturally, struggle which is "easily understood must be an organization that will be the most untrained youth). Other kind of "gradualness," began to be necessary to "bring about a political not require building a strong organization to train the proletariat in the steady. All we need do is to snatch up a wooden club. Speaking without must organize a general strike,** "spiritless" progress of the working of "excitatory terror."*** Both the and the "revolutionists," bow to ness; neither believes that it can be stands our primary and most i namely, to establish an organization of maintaining the energy, stability political struggle.

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** See "Who Will Bring About the symposium published in Russia, entitled Reissued by the Kiev Committee.

*** *Regeneration of Revolutionism* and

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what form does lenin
set forth in chapt 4 -
relationship of army,
united front & party

is that form relevant for here -
- building a party/army

(what is united front)

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怎 么 办 ?

外 文 出 版 社 出 版 (北 京)

1973 年 (32 月) 第 一 版

印 数 : (册) 1000 - 2100

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PP Q2157

liberalism!); in the question of the law against "immoral" publications and pictures; in the question of the government influencing the election of professors, etc., etc. Everywhere the Social-Democrats are found to be ahead of all others, rousing political discontent among all classes, rousing the sluggards, pushing on the laggards and providing a wealth of material for the development of the political consciousness and political activity of the proletariat. The result of all this is that even the avowed enemies of Socialism are filled with respect for this advanced political fighter, and not unfrequently an important document from bourgeois, and even from bureaucratic and Court circles, makes its way by some miraculous means into the editorial office of the *Vorwärts*.

This, then, is the explanation of the seeming "contradiction" which is so much beyond the understanding of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* that it raises its arms and cries: "Mas queradel!" Indeed, just think of it: We, the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, regard the *mass* working-class movement as the **cornerstone** (and say so in bold type!); we warn all and sundry against belittling the significance of the spontaneous movement; we desire to lend the economic struggle itself, *itself, itself*, a political character; we desire to maintain close and organic contact with the proletarian struggle! And yet we are told that we are preparing the ground for converting the working-class movement into an instrument of bourgeois democracy! And who says this? People who "compromise" with liberalism, intervene in every "liberal" issue (what a gross misunderstanding of "organic contact with the proletarian struggle"!), who devote so much attention to the students and even (Oh horror!) to the Zemstvo-ites! People who wish to devote a greater (compared with the Economists) percent-

5/1/50

age of their efforts to ac
of the population! Is not
Poor *Rabocheye Dyel*
this complicated puzzle?

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REF-5

than you have done up to now; and you must bring not only in the form of arguments, pamphlets and high sometimes — excuse our frankness! — are rather precisely in the form of live *exposures* of what our present and our governing classes are doing at this very moment in all spheres of life. Just devote more zeal to this duty, and *talk less about "raising the activities of the masses of the workers"*! We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open, honest, demands that do not promise any "palpable results" whatever! And it is not for you to "raise" our activities because *activity is precisely the thing you yourselves worship less in worship to spontaneity, and think more in worship to your own activity, gentlemen!*

WHAT IS THERE IN COMMON BETWEEN ECONOMISM AND TERRORISM?

In footnote we quoted the opinion of an Economist and a non-Social-Democratic terrorist who happened to come in contact with him. Speaking generally, however, there is an accidental, but a necessary, inherent connection between the two, about which we shall have to speak later, but which must be dealt with here in connection with the question of training the masses in revolutionary activity. The Economists and the present-day terrorists have a common root, namely, the *worship of spontaneity*, which we mentioned in the preceding chapter as a general phenomenon, which we shall now examine in relation to its connection with political activity and the political struggle. At first our assertion may appear paradoxical, so great is

the difference between those who stress the "drab everyday struggle" and those who call for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals. But this is no paradox. The Economists and terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity: the Economists bow to the spontaneity of the "pure" working-class movement, while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to link up the revolutionary struggle with the working-class movement, to form an integral whole. It is difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or who have never believed that this is possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy other than terror. Thus, both kinds of worship of spontaneity we have mentioned are nothing more nor less than a *beginning in carrying out* the notorious *Credo* program: Let the workers wage their "economic struggle against the employers and the government" (we apologize to the author of the *Credo* for expressing his views in Martynov's words! We think we have a right to do so because the *Credo*, too, says that in the economic struggle the workers "come up against the political regime"), and let the intellectuals conduct the political struggle by their own efforts — with the aid of terror, of course! This is an absolutely logical and inevitable conclusion which must be insisted upon — even though those who are beginning to carry out this program do not themselves realize that it is inevitable. Political activity has its logic quite apart from the consciousness of those who, with the best intentions, call either for terror or for lending the economic struggle itself a political character. The road to hell is paved with good intentions, and, in this case, good intentions cannot save one from being spontaneously drawn "along the line of least resistance," along the

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— FBI —

read 1, 2, 3

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V. I. LENIN

WHAT IS
TO BE DONE?

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General

Sister - July 75

S Saxe

Mexican women

For White Women Only?

For middle class women only?

Women's Press - Feb. 75

(Hetero) Sexual Politics - Su Negrin

Poem p. 12

Lesbian Voices

Lesbian Separatism - Nikki Park

Off Our Backs July, 1975

Interview w/ Shoshone

Susan Saxe Statement

Redstockings Statement

Raleigh, N.C. women's prison prod

Plexis August 1975

Berkeley Barb May 30 - June 1975

Gloria Steinem

Sterilization

Off Our Backs July 75
p. 13, Bolivia

Triple Jeopardy Summer 75
p. 16: Indian Women

Berkeley Barb- July 18-24
Sterilization

To the people

On The subject of Constructing explosive devices: An open letter to the people

We applaud the efforts of the People's Forces, NWLF, to educate the people around some of the "tools and tactics necessary for armed struggle." It is vital ~~important~~ that the Armed front continue to demystify the process of building the people's army. The popular forces will grow not because of sheer numbers and recruitment alone but primarily due to the initiation of revolutionary minded ~~officers and mandatories~~ ~~in the way~~ potential fighters will realize that

In this way emphasis can be placed on peoples ^{by underground org.} initiative and self-reliance, rather than recruitment. Recruiting new soldiers to an underground organization is a slow process because of the need for tight security threat of pig infiltration. It makes more sense to form a new cell than to ^{try to} seek out an existing unit that is invisible. ~~and self-reliance, also~~

So when the people have a sense of their own potential & strength, ^{autonomous} new cells can be formed which ~~also~~ function effectively & securely. This type of short range organizational strategy also helps to demphasize the tendency of ~~some~~ some of the people have toward hero worship.

~~new assumption that a guerrilla group must be as together as~~
a guerrilla you must be as together as
Abdullah Shaker ^{Comrade} Yes: ~~from~~ or Che.

~~Too often, Comrades, the people~~
~~we must stop denying our strength~~

If we deny our own ~~strength~~ potential to grow strong
& boldly seek ~~some~~ revolutionary -
~~super~~ superwoman/man to follow,
some comrades never to be really found;
~~then~~

→ If we postpone our own rev. growth process until we find the perfect leader to follow, we will ~~never reach~~ ~~later~~ never ever begin to reach our potential. We will ~~later~~ never act. We will never lead.
- Our revolution needs an army of leaders,
~~later~~

Therefore,

We ask this question: What if every
pissed-off, disenfranchised, exploited
person in this country could ^{possibly} collect the
^{necessary} ^{materials} & ^{safely} assemble a pipe bomb? Of course,
not the ultimate weapon, but sufficient
to destroy a modern, fully equipped
patrol car, including the pigs inside;
to ~~bring~~ the demise of a fat imperialist
& all the ^{confronted} fat asses who do; or sufficient
to bring a fascist board meeting
to a swift conclusion! ³

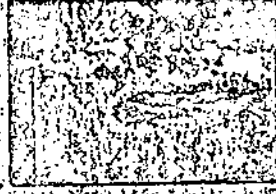
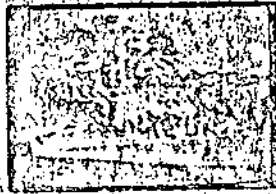
The following instructions are offered

In the spirit of the determination, integrity
& self-reliance of ~~our fellow comrades~~
Comrades Jonathan Jackson & Sam
McLiville! ~~we offer the people~~

Oct. 73

Cleaning up the Act:

The Politics of Police Reform



- The urge to reform the police in America followed directly the racial rebellions and radical insurgencies of the last decade. If form follows function in design, reform follows malfunction in politics: the impetus to redesign social institutions flows from their failure.

At the flashpoint of dysfunction—the burning of Watts, in August, 1965—the government made the first commitment of federal resources to police reform: an Office of Law Enforcement Assistance. Then came a succession of national and state programs, a Presidential Commission, foundation projects and academic studies.

All this activity was marked by the persistent belief that the police regulate the quotient of law and order in the world. The spectacle of Mayor Daley's police provoking riot in Chicago; of the Ohio National Guard blazing away at Kent State; of local police mired in corruption, indolence, and inefficiency; of the FBI barking up one wrong tree after another while Panthers, Weatherpeople, Mafiosi and draft dodgers slip away into freedom: it all suggested that the machine of social control had ceased to operate in its most crucial capacity. To be sure, the managerial response to the threat of insurrection, riot and criminality (the three are inextricably connected) was as varied as the perceptions of the managers. The only constant was the expansion of police power and the concentration on police reform, reorganization and redefinition as the principal means to put

America together again. Long after anti-poverty, welfare, educational and integrationist programs have been cut, impounded or abandoned, the police industry continues to flourish.

Administration officials of both the Johnson and Nixon eras created and fed the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) with a budget of billions and a cast of thousands. The career reformers in the criminal justice set formed the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (the Crime Commission). They studied "the problem" and then spread out to various public and private institutions formed to deal with it on the terms their study had set. One of those private institutions is the Police Foundation, a Ford Foundation spin-off with \$30 million to play with for its chartered life-span of five years.

In the ecology of law and order, federal programs and private foundations are support-systems that feed more vigorous but unrooted activities. Those were undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency, which created and expanded a Domestic Operations section; by the Treasury Department, which, under John J. Caulfield, politicized it.

by Andrew Kopkind

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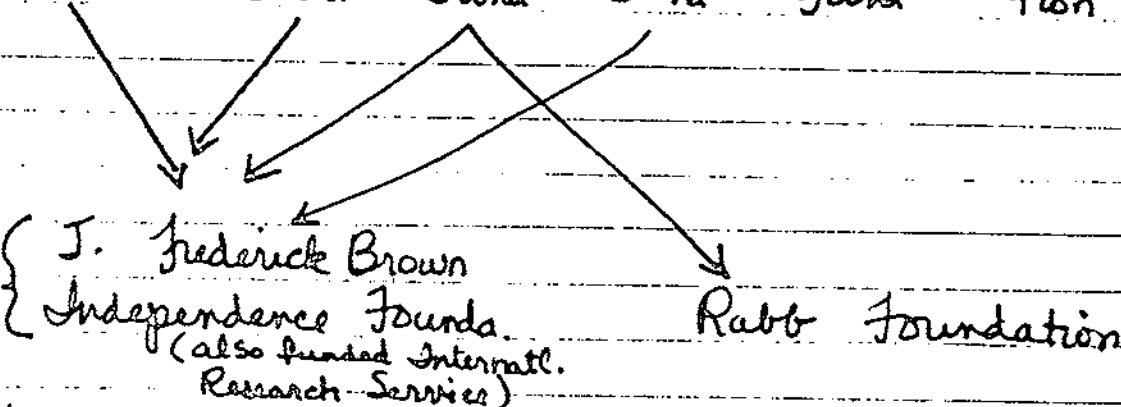
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JMS 9/1/75

Ramparts March 67

CIA funnelled money thru various foundations to Natl. Student Assoc. (NSA) mainly to be used internationally
 NSA people were then recruited by the CIA to snoop at internatl. conferences etc.

Kentfield Fund	Borden Trust	Price Fund	Edsel Fund	Beacon Fund	San Jacinto foundation	For Youth & Student Affairs
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Paul S. Hellmuth

Natl. Student Assoc. - Internatl. Student. Conf

Found. for Youth & Student Affairs
 exec. secretary - Harry Lunn

ex-pres. NSA
 Dept. of Defense
 Amer. Embassy - P
 AID
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222 PW
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Oscar Salinas

288C RBRD 9/19/75 [signature]

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—A position paper on the strategy for armed struggle in the metropole of the U.S. Empire

We begin with a review of the recent history of armed struggle in the United States. The two main sources of organized guerrilla activity have been the movement against imperialist war and the movement among ethnic minorities for social justice. While most of these guerrilla organizations have been influenced by socialist ideology and analysis, there are few references to native working-class struggles in the rhetoric or design of armed acts. Even though there are serious contradictions in the domestic economy, this is not surprising in view of the absence of an acute class struggle or a developed class consciousness among the masses. None of the guerrilla groups are publicly acknowledged to be governed by the political command of any of the so-called proletarian vanguard parties which are perennially bogged down in sectarian squabbles. Indeed, many of these political parties openly condemn current revolutionary violence which presumably interferes with their task of party building.

The vast bulk of the military actions by guerrilla units can be characterized as symbolic rather than effective in terms of having a substantial impact on the actual balance of power. The primary purpose was to educate the people by armed acts largely of propaganda value in order to spark increased mass resistance to selected government policies or agencies. Seizure of state power was not on the immediate agenda of even the most quixotic people's warriors; but with respect to our realistic goals, we have been remarkably successful in bringing significant pressure to bear on ruling class circles. Our flair for unorthodox style has generated controversy which has captured the imagination and passive loyalty of ever-increasing numbers of the alienated and dispossessed. Because of our organizational weaknesses and the police power of our adversaries, we have not capitalized on this sympathy and popular admiration as much as is technically possible.

The capture of revolutionary soldiers was initially a demoralizing setback. One of our historic problems was that the need for secrecy in our military operations prevented us from utilizing our considerable moral authority to gain the cooperation of sympathetic groups and individuals because the identity of our cadres had to be protected. The random success of the enemy police in exposing some of our soldiers had the ironic result of establishing bona fide credentials for our "representatives" as rallying points for like-minded people. Our prisoners of war were thrown together in jails thereby automatically creating concrete links between previously unconnected guerrilla units. Police technique assisted us in solving a problem that we may never have solved for ourselves, namely increased coordination and unity. Forced into the nation's "crime schools," these periods of imprisonment became sabbaticals from the struggle on the streets for our fighters to confer with colleagues about improving our methods in future engagements. This then is a partial report on the conclusions of one such revolutionary prisoner of war after three years in the prestigious Soledad Academy of Advanced Political-Military Warfare.

To gain the active participation of "above-ground" sympathizers, the political-military organization (P.M.O.) must formally approach them with a specific proposal for joint action in support of the armed struggle. The P.M.O. must correctly design a useful role for the sympathizer which is within the person's capabilities and does not interfere with the person's regular activity. If possible, the clandestine role should complement or "fit in" with the normal one so as not to attract suspicion by a sudden change in behavior or routine. For an ideal example, surveillance and intelligence work which is often very time- and energy-consuming for the P.M.O. can probably be done better and more safely by one of the movement's many excellent research groups. The approach should be made by a P.M.O. officer with recognized credentials such as those mentioned above to the most influential cadre of the group. Secret liaison arrangements can be agreed upon for communicating assignments and timely reports. Members of the group would then be serving the armed struggle by carrying out the tasks suggested by the P.M.O. (and get remain innocent of possible charges with a maximum of security for the entire operation) while simultaneously gathering information useful to their regular research interests.

The military aspect of the political-military organization must have a hierarchical structure with definite ranks and a clear line of authority to a centralized command. The members can be widely dispersed geographically if their communication is good however. Top military leadership must be protected in combat, though in the initial stages of organizing, center risks for the officers of the high command are usually necessary. Attacks must never be made without adequate reserve strength such that failure with heavy losses can wipe out the P.M.O. The structure and praxis of the P.M.O. must be designed such that a single betrayal

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4/19/75 JH-88

"Falling Dominoes"

--A position paper on the strategy for armed struggle in the metropole of the U.S. Empire

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can result in no more than small losses.

The political aspect can be separate or combined with the military forces in any suitable system adapted to the conditions of struggle. The political lines of authority can and should be far more democratic with position papers and discussions circulating at all levels. What follows is a political-military analysis arguing for the adoption of an internationalist perspective in our strategy for armed struggle.

The first requirement is to define certain key expressions and concepts to be used in this discussion. By "U.S. Empire" we mean all areas in the world where the United States Government is able to impose favorable conditions in order for its commercial interests to unjustly exploit other peoples and their resources. When U.S. capitalists speak of another country having a "favorable investment climate," they are usually talking about a stable political and economic situation in which pro-U.S. business forces dominate. Reference to the "metropole" describes the neo-colonialist relationship of the financial-industrial center (which is the United States) to its underdeveloped Empire which is the market for U.S. products and the source of cheap materials. The metropole is able to extract enormous wealth from its Empire by fixing prices to its advantage. These concessions are enforced by U.S. military and economic hegemony in collusion with venal political elements in the subject nation who represent the comprador and feudal ruling classes while deceiving their people with a facade of sovereign independence. These forces deliberately strive to keep the subject nation in a state of underdevelopment.

Now we come to the main question of whether imperialism is the primary contradiction in the world today which is the political thesis of the Weather Underground and other anti-imperialist organizations. "Primary contradiction" implies that it is the most important problem affecting the lives of people. Proof that this is so is a complete study in itself which has been dealt with at length in many fine books. Here we will consider the proposed strategies for combatting U.S. imperialism.

Many revolutionaries insist that the only way to defeat imperialism is to seize state power in the metropole, overthrow capitalist institutions, and establish a socialist order. This revolution cannot be achieved without the broad masses of the people actively participating. Consequently, they are often highly critical of political-military organizations for their "elitist adventurism" because they fear a fascist reaction even though the PMO attacks may be directed exclusively against imperialist targets. A careful analysis shows that the real goal of this tendency is seizure of state power through a mass-based socialist revolution rather than simply "defeating imperialism." But can there ever be such a revolution in the metropole as long as there is a profitable empire to mute the domestic class struggle with relative affluence founded on world plunder? In other words, doesn't the Empire have to be liberated before we can even hope for a truly revolutionary situation in the metropole? Despite tremendous social upheavals and costly defeats in Indochina, the tiny imperialist clique is still firmly in control of the state power though somewhat on the defensive, but hardly subdued.

Another group of revolutionaries feels that the issue of imperialism is too abstract to be the primary concern of most Americans in their daily lives. Other contradictions such as sexism, racism, and pollution seem more immediate; thus their strategy is to fuse anti-imperialist sentiment with movements which are essentially reformist in order to give them a revolutionary character. For example, radical feminism and ethnic liberation demand respectively the abolition of sexual and racial stereotyping of social roles, but many leaders of both movements recognize that life would still be unsatisfactory even with females or ethnic minorities occupying imperialist social roles in the present class society. Of course, male chauvinism and racial supremacy is fundamentally incompatible with anti-imperialism, but a conscious effort is often needed to review PMO praxis for such inconsistencies. However, the PMO must never confuse its political-military priorities over such concerns. If there is a choice between attacking CIA agents or playboy clubs, the choice is clearly the former though the best opportunity would perhaps be to catch CIA agents in a playboy club. Some PMOs have attacked local targets in an apparent attempt to win popular support for their activities. Examples from Northern California are the New World Liberation Front bombings of a power company's transformers demanding lower rates for poor people or attacks on school boards such as the Revolutionary Army attacks on the Peralta College office and the Univ. of Calif. Santa Cruz administration building, and the Symbionese Liberation Army assassination of a school chief. While all of these acts were justifiable,

there was little, if any, anti-imperialist content to them. On the other hand, the RA attacks on the Iranian consulate and U.C. campus buildings directly linked to imperialist research as well as the NWLF attacks on ITT were excellent propaganda. If the SLA had given the food to Vietnam instead of the Bay Area, this act would have been enormously popular throughout the world if less popular in the metropole. The Black Liberation Army should also consider whether killing diplomats from white supremacist regimes like South Africa instead of shooting cops in the ghetto might not serve their program better at this moment. U.S. racist groups could be hit too. To make such decisions, it is absolutely necessary for the PMO in the metropole to have a clear anti-imperialist goal and a firm internationalist perspective. For the time being, local issues should be fought by mass organizations with non-military tactics such as petitions, pickets, boycotts, elections, civil disobedience, strikes, riots, and petty sabotage. If mass resistance should develop into a revolutionary situation, we will be flexible enough to recognize it and respond accordingly.

From an internationalist perspective, how should anti-imperialist PMOs in the metropole plan their military campaigns for the immediate future? In other words, what targets are suitable for our purposes? The key point is that we must change our aim from purely symbolic acts of propaganda to include effective measures against the imperialists which will substantially weaken them while at the same time increasing the power of the world's liberation forces if possible. Are we capable of rendering such assistance, of making a real difference in the balance of power by military methods? A "fifth column" cannot do much if it is not linked to a full-blown war of national liberation on the periphery of the Empire. Without an Indochina-type situation, where are the pressure points in which such a PMO could make the critical moves? Korea? Maybe in the future. Portugal, the Philippines, Africa, Latin America? All are possibilities. Perhaps we should bide our time building a stronger PMO. In the interim, there are political prisoners of war to be freed. Actions can be taken to help newly liberated territories create a socialist society by forcing the imperialists to pay reparations for the damage which they caused by their counter-revolutionary wars. We must try to anticipate the next imperialist moves through our intelligence apparatus in order to thwart their schemes instead of reacting after they have already succeeded as in the CIA coup in Chile. We can disrupt the right wing in this country which is the political base for imperialist policies. We can also hit foreign representatives of regimes allied to U.S. imperialism. Are there any personnel which are not expendable to imperialism? Some have "national defense" secrets. Scientists who design imperialist instruments should be held accountable and their research destroyed. How specifically can these results be achieved? This is a subject of military technique and tactics known to our political-military leaders, but the reader should believe that such actions can and will be done. How can the reader help? Simply join an anti-imperialist political-military organization and prepare to fight.

"To live is to take sides."

ARMED LOVE
from
The SPINNER

can result in no more than small losses.

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THE KOREAN WAR



its Origins

Rise To Globalism
Ambrose

Amos...
Rise To Globalism
Ambrose

Aftermath

IF Stone
Koko
Power

Origin of Gold Way

9/18/75
[initials]

POPEYE

By Jacques Rogiers

"For those of you who don't know me, my name is Popeye Jackson. I'm from the United Prisoners' Union, and I came today because I have some questions for my comrades underground."

With these words, Popeye began his last speech in Ho Chi Minh Park on May 18th, in Berkeley, California. The rally was called to advance unity between the above and underground radical groups in the San Francisco Bay Area, and Popeye's speech started a war!

"The questions I have, I want answers, particularly from my underground comrades. Why aren't we instilling fear in the ruling class? We bomb buildings, we call, we warn them... at no time do the ruling class fear these things because none of them is dying... I wonder why, when we drop bombs in buildings, particularly Eveyll Younger (State Attorney General), why don't we bomb him so dead dogs can begin to become afraid... until we begin to adhere to these things that these comrades (the SLA) are teaching us in their death, then and only then can we say that we are revolutionaries..." He went on to criticize the New World Liberation Front's actions in bombing a building at San Quentin by saying that they should have captured a pig instead ^{And} held him in ransom for the release of captured comrades.

Two weeks later, the NWLF responded with an open letter that was both angry and defensive. "Had we sufficient strength and backing... we damn sure would

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have kidnapped a ruling class pig in exchange for the release of our comrades... comrades trapped behind enemy lines must, and will, be liberated... by the above means." Popeye was charged with the revolutionary crimes of: urging people to premature acts, projecting a capitalistic image, trashing (destructive criticism) of comrades, lack of principled ideology, and, perhaps, working for the police as an informer or provocateur, since he had received privileged treatment by the courts and the parole board.

Five days later, Popeye and a kindergarten teacher, Sally Voye, were executed in a barrage of bullets as they sat in her car. The assassin blew Sally away, shot Popeye in the head at point blank range, ran up the narrow street, and disappeared. The war was on, but no one was sure who was waging it. The NWLF issued a lengthy communique condoning the execution of Popeye if it were done by someone or some group with proof of their accusations. Not Sally though: "If there was conclusive proof that Popeye was a snitch, then he, and he alone, should have been executed. You don't justify Sally Voye's death by saying she was in the way; you wait until she is out of the way." They called on someone from the convicted class to analyze the situation. "To let the matter die with him does disservice to the people".

A flood of communiques followed. The Weather Underground said that only the ruling class gained from his murder. The Black Guerrilla Family felt that the murders were the work of pigs and that the charges against Popeye were without foundation. If not, they demanded proof. The Symbionese Liberation Army, in their first communique since the disappearance of Tanya Hearst, said: "At this point, we don't believe that Popeye was a pig. If this action can't be further explained, we have no choice but to conclude that his execution was

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either carried-out by counter-intelligence agents, or by horribly misguided revolutionaries." The underground didn't take long to decide who they were fighting, the same pigs they'd been fighting all along.

On June 20th, the Red Guerrilla Family bombed the Treasury Department's bomb squad in San Francisco. The explosive was described as the most powerful ever used in a domestic guerrilla attack and the damage was heavy. Their communique said: "We take this action in response to the pig murder of Popeye Jackson... Popeye was impatient with trashing buildings, and wanted the underground to attack the pigs themselves. His life's work... has helped to set the stage for the intensification of the peoples' struggle."

The New Times investigation was begun two days after the killings and has been the collective effort of dozens of sisters and brothers, mostly cons. It included fifteen hours of taped interviews, many hours of untaped interviews, careful inspection of hundreds of documents, an intensive probe into the Department of Corrections and the parole board, and hundreds of hours of discussion. No stone was left unturned.

On July 30th, nine revolutionaries, six of them ex-cons, accepted individual and joint responsibility for designating themselves a peoples' court, and reviewed the evidence. 14 conclusions were adopted unanimously, one was adopted with one dissention, and one was rejected. All the evidence, the conclusions adopted, biographies of the members of the court, and the minutes of the court, are available to any sister or brother who wishes to review them. This story is a summary and a great deal that was important had to be omitted.

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The infant Popeye was suffering from extreme malnutrition when he was abandoned by his mother. His grandmother took him into her home in San Francisco's Fillmore ghetto and he grew up on the streets. Brother Carl grew up in the same neighborhood and they belonged to street gangs that were friendly. "The Lucky 20's were a typical street gang of the late 40's and 50's, non-political and non-racial. Popeye was the leader and they were into boosting and sneaking into the movies, that kind of thing. Later they were shaking down merchants and getting into robberies. I was kinda on the same trip myself... I looked up to him." They committed petty crimes together and practiced being bad-asses.

At age 16, Popeye was charged by the Juvenile Court with cutting another boy. He got off. A year later, he threatened the principal of his high school with a knife; this time he got probation. Two weeks later, he was charged with petty theft when he and another boy tried to steal a bottle of wine; he was committed to the Log Cabin Ranch School, a semi-detention institution of the period. Nine months later he was kicked out for disobeying the rules and did his first time, in the Juvenile Detention home. After release, he was busted for shoplifting again and forced to enlist in the army as an alternative to Youth Authority prison. In the army, he was busted for grass, did a year in the stockade, and got a dishonorable discharge.

In 1951, when Popeye was 21, he was caught in the act of burglarizing a drug-store; his pockets were full of cosmetics and cigarettes. "Because of prior record, including narcotic violation", he was given the maximum sentence of from one to fifteen years. He could have been parolled in a year, but did eleven, getting out in 1962. The indeterminate sentence in action: eleven years of a man's life for stealing cosmetics and cigarettes.

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Released on parole in 1962, the 32 year old Popeye was out less than 90 days. This time, he and a crime partner robbed a florist. The take was two dollars and some pennies, a wristwatch, and a partially smoked pack of cigarettes. The florist got pistol whipped and Popeye got five years to life; robbery with a prior felony conviction, weapons, and violence.

As the years slipped away in monotony, fear, and loneliness, he became filled with a great anger. If he got mad, he might shout insults right in your face, daring you to provoke a violence that he was just barely able to control. His reputation included three murders and he used it to intimidate anyone he could. San Quentin even takes from you the power to decide when you will eat or shower and the experience can fill you with a great need to control people and events. Following a long established tradition, Popeye adopted the tactics of his oppressors and used intimidation to fulfill his need for power. If he could make you afraid of him, he was in control.

Carl: "At that time in Folsom, interracial anything: living in the same cell, eating at the same dinner table, fucking, sucking, or just about anything except for money hustle on the yard, was segregated. Popeye ran around with a white homosexual... this never happened before... in the history of Folsom Prison. The homosexual he had was the ugliest homosexual in the whole penal system... nobody else really wanted her anyway... she looked like Smokey the Bear." He had nerve and was feared, but he did not have a good reputation and was known as a pressure artist and an intimidator of queens.

Sally was one of the founders of the Prisoners' Union: "...once you started looking at the prison system, you could really see Popeye. He was a human

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that was horribly involved in that system. He had a reputation in the joint, that nothing was too small for him to steal. What a terrible thing to say about a human being. And, what's worse, it was probably true."

Brother Michael was his friend: "He spent a lot of time in our cell, telling us stories about fine breads and big money; when Popeye was rapping, it could go on for hours. In his stories, he was always the hippest, toughest, and smartest. Eye always had a way of getting into the shit. If there was an argument on the field, he was in on it; if there was a fight in the locker room, Eye would be talking shit. There were a lot of dudes involved in San Quentin sports who could have whipped Popeye... but most weren't willing to sacrifice their release dates... A lot of athletes of all races didn't like Popeye because he spent more time arguing and squabbling than playing ball or because he criticized his teammates heavily and bragged about his own exploits. He had a short temper and an argument could quickly lead to blows, so people let him have his own way a lot."

Carl: "He was really into dropping his bully hand, especially in instances where he knew he could get away with it... and he was off into that bag... Iceberg Slim and all that... wearing their Cadillacs around the big yard... that's the bag he fell into when he got out."

Popeye had been twisted and warped by almost two decades in this womanless, mad environment. As brother George Jackson said: "It is socially self-destructive to create a monster, and turn him loose upon the world". When Popeye was released in 1970, ^{AFTER} another nine years, he was rational but not sane. He knew nothing but queens, sports, hustling the short con, and the big yard.

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However, in the words of brother Mash, "he thought he was the slickest mother-fucker in the world". For nineteen years, he had matched wits with a most powerful and cruel adversary, the world of the prison. He was an expert in the arts of deception and intimidation but he knew nothing about how people had learned to relate to each other while he had been locked away. He was a big yard hustler, motivated only by self interest; his brothers and sisters were marks. This monster was loosed upon the world with the rhetoric of his latest hustle on his lips: revolution.

His rap on the yard had turned political, although, as Carl says: "I don't think he really understood any of it at all except (that) the establishment is racists and fascists, and everybody else is poor people and minorities. As for the rest of the convicted class, " (only) 10% are white, and they're nazi stool pigeons for the guards... he looked at it entirely as a racial thing". Racially: "I'd say that he was a double racist, he hated white men and black women".

Shortly after he was parolled, he joined with ex-con brothers Willie, Tony, and John, and sisters Pat and Sally, to found the United Prisoners' Union. Popeye immediately took over. Sally: "... in our early organizational stages, we put together this conference in Los Angeles. We decided to have a 15 person board of directors... we were going to elect people we had known for one day! There were a lot of people nobody knew, and Popeye was one of them. It turned out that he who raw-jawed the most, the loudest, the longest, got the vote. What happens, of course, is three months later, this 15 member board is virtually defunct because everyone is either dead, or in jail, or hooked, or disappeared. Hardly anyone left, except Popeye... it's amazing, his survival ability. He is truly one of those kind of guys you could drop out of a ten story building and, somehow or other, he'd land on his feet..."

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Popeye soon began calling himself the Minister of Prisons, and grabbing all the speaking engagements. Pat: "He would make speaking commitments for himself and not include anyone else in them except me. I felt that he included me because I was a woman and I was no threat to him as far as the image he was trying to create as far as Minister of Prisons, and all that bullshit. At the time, it was easy to get money out of crowds; Popeye would go out a lot, and not come back with anything. A lot of times there was a hundred bucks in there... when I went with him." Popeye was the only one involved in Union activities full-time; everybody else had to work to survive. "That's what no one knew, how he could afford it."

Sally: "Once he returned from an engagement with a \$100 check and said that half of it had to go to another brother who spoke. Later, one of the organizers told us how happy he had been that they were able to give all of the speakers \$100. We started to funnel known amounts of money through Popeye and it always came up short when he turned it in.

"We were really upset over the expensive long-distance phone bills he was running up. God! I'd just have a dollar or so and this was an outrageous extravagance for a little fledgling organization. We said he couldn't do that anymore, and then, he started making phone calls. I'd just hang him up. He'd get mad and threaten to hit me, but he never did. He'd pull back his hand like he was going to do it, but he never did. He'd go right up to the edge.

He used to speak to me in what I considered a degrading, sexist fashion. He used to tell me: 'Bitch, shut up!' He used to tell the men around me: 'Make that woman be quiet!' He used to treat me in a very authoritarian fashion

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which I considered personally degrading. I didn't think that we human beings spoke to each other that way, and he seemed to think that that's the way men spoke to women... As a consequence, I wasn't around the office all that much... I'd take my union work and go home."

Pat: "Like, he'd come up and say: 'Let me suck your right tit baby'. That just made my skin creep and crawl. And then trying to spout how much he was for feminism. He told me one time: 'Bitch, stay in your place'. He told Willie to keep his woman in her place." Once he "knocked everything off my desk and said: '...I'm going to knock you through that window if you say one more word'. It was a mistake trying to reason with Popeye, there was just no way you could. He'd take it on a completely different level, and it'd be a fight: 'No, I'm not coming to the meeting, you can't kick me out, I'm the Minister of Prisons'. So, we kicked him out!

Sally: A brother "was constantly concerned about radical groups fighting with each other because, he said, 'We've always got to remember that there are too few of us... we can't afford, within the movement, to ever make enemies.' To some extent... those lofty principles prevailed among all those people around Popeye with the exception, of course, of Popeye himself. The convict group I was working with at the time... very quickly picked up on all this bullshit, and quickly were intolerant of it... and said: 'Hey, Popeye, we ain't fucking over you; you can go do what you want to do, but you ain't welcome here anymore'

Actually, they kicked themselves out, and took everything with them but the name. Popeye, alone, was now the United Prisoners' Union (UPU); the other cons dropped the "United" and became just the Prisoners' Union (PU). The PU

offices were in Willie's house and Popeye returned to fight over records and money. He had a gun, and Willie got pistol whipped. Pat: "Willie had a 104° temperature and hepatitis... Even then... no one seemed to be scared. I mean, there's that fear of a gun; it's loaded, you don't know what will happen. But he was more scared than we were, he was shaking..."

Sister Sheila worked in the union and was living with Tony; she was scared: "I was ushered out of the room by Willie and Tony because they were afraid there was going to be some kind of a violent trip. Popeye came back in, and he was... screaming and yelling: 'You white mother fuckers!' He was threatening them, saying he was going to kill them... He came back with a gun and threatened to kill John and Tony and he hit Willie with the gun... I was so freaked out by the gun that I don't know too much what happened after that."

Popeye almost lost his life then. Sheila: "After all this happens, Willie and John and Tony and the women in the union... were talking about what to do and ~~Willie and Tony~~ ^{Tony was} both saying: 'We got to get him before he gets us', but John's position was: '...he'll hang himself. He's going to run around bad rapping us... calling us racists... but, there's nothing we can do about it... What we're doing is representing convicts and if we run out and start a gang war... then we've blown our whole trip... We can't do that; this is not the big yard'." Tony ~~and Willie~~ ^{was} voted down. The PU adopted a policy of silence and would not discuss the split or the violence until after Popeye's death. Popeye and the UPU adopted a policy of bad-rap and accused Willie and John of being snitches and the PU of being racist.

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In the street sense, Popeye was an excellent judge of character and he knew Tony was the one to worry about. Tony had resigned his vice-presidency in the union and was no longer bound by their decisions. Sheila: "One day we were driving down Mission street and we saw Popeye. All of a sudden he said: 'I'm taking you home' and... he got a very strange look on his face. I said, you're going to kill him huh? and he didn't say anything. You have every intention of going and shooting Popeye in the street, don't you? Tony said: 'Yes, that's what I'm going to do... the man is ripping off the movement and he's threatened to kill my friends, threatened to kill me. You know he needs to die'. I began to argue with him... mainly because I don't believe in murdering people, no matter how rotten they are. Finally, I made a scene and got hysterical so he gave up the whole plan."

Tony got busted for a large amount of heroin and was sent to Folsom where he soon got a threatening note from someone claiming to be a friend of Popeye's. It said he was going to be killed and was reinforced by information Tony got from black friends but he couldn't get to the source. Not knowing who to watch, he was worried and confided in Sheila. Scared, and unfamiliar with the way it was in prison, she told the Warden who had Tony put in protective custody. P/C is indistinguishable from the hole and it's not easy to get out. Being in the hole for a long period can bring on a terrible depression and it was in this mental state that Tony learned ~~that~~ he had cancer. Hanging yourself in the hole is not easy; there's nothing overhead and you have to use the towel rack. You sit with your butt a couple inches off the bed and slowly strangle; Popeye didn't have to worry about Tony anymore.

Even the Minister of Prisons had to eat and Popeye was hustling. Sister Jerry,

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a homosexual, made checks and false I.D. and Popeye recruited people to cash them. He took sister S., an ex-con, and sister S. to Modesto in March, 1971, to cash checks. They immediately got busted. In Modesto he met a third sister S. who was seventeen, pregnant, and destitute. She became Eva Purcell and they went to Sacramento to cash checks. The false I.D. wasn't very good and she got busted immediately. By July, it was counterfeit money and brother Al, "Little Al", was the patsy. The plates, reportedly made in San Quentin, were not very good, and they were quickly busted. The money was in Little Al's hand and Popeye got cut loose again. Brother Al ended up in Folsom, hating Popeye; sister Jerry is dead.

Brother John was involved in some of these ventures and got busted three times. He was bitter because Popeye never made any effort to help him while he was in jail: "...didn't even send me cigarettes". John tells of two brothers jacking Popeye up on Mission street with shotguns and almost killing him. They took all his money, which was quite a bit. He tried to get John and others from the UPU to kill one or both of them but nobody would go for it; he made no effort to do anything himself.

Popeye had always been into guns. Sally says: "Usually, he used women as holsters. He would frequently have a gun in their purse, or act like he had a gun in their purse, and play a big heavy..." In May, 1972, he and brother J. were busted with two pistols and a hot car while on the way to a Prison Day Symposium where they were to speak. The gun charges were dismissed because the search was illegal and brother J. rode the hot car beef. The word on the yard at Folsom is that Popeye snitched but brother J. will neither confirm nor deny it. It seems likely; the peoples' court reviewed remarks made to a Counselor at the prison that - at the least - could have been harmful to J.

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None of the charges against Popeye could be proved and his Parole Officer reluctantly recommended that his parole not be violated. The board overrode him and violated Popeye even though they had no reason other than some traffic tickets. It is not unusual for the board to ignore the Parole Officer's recommendation and they did not like Popeye. Perhaps it was his politics, 1972 was a big year.

Carl: "After he broke off with the regular Prisoners' Union, he didn't have too many members. He would come up with big signs and support other peoples' protests. I think that's how he first started making himself visible."

He was very visible to Alexander Jason, undercover police agent. Alex infiltrated all the radical groups in the Bay Area including, finally, Venceremos. "Venceremos, I was very interested in... and Popeye was secretly Minister of Defense. I recognized him when I went under cover... I knew he would be a big leader... because he had the background, the credentials. He was black, he was tough... and all the attention in revolutionary circles was in prisoners being the most politically conscious."

The House Committee on Internal Security talks about Venceremos: "... members... have gathered firearms and explosives and have trained members in their use under anticipated guerrilla warfare conditions. Included in their organization is a secret apparatus intended for completely illegal activities: assassinations, robberies, and sabotage." Weapons instruction was given by the Minister of Defense.

What was Venceremos into at that time? Alex: "Mostly training, study groups,

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we had a lot of weapons. They planned to attack a prison bus; kill the guards and give each of the prisoners a gun and clothing... try to recruit them on the spot."

Popeye was making powerful enemies; the House Committee on Internal Security discussed him at length, as did the report to the California Senate by the subcommittee on civil disorder. He didn't get along well with the leadership of Venceremos either. Alex: "The Venceremos were smarter... a lot of people in Venceremos even had the courage to challenge him: 'This is bullshit Popeye; if you're a revolutionary, you don't do this kind of stuff'. So, he had a lot of trouble... with the Central Committee." Popeye had a great hatred of the establishment that had kept him in their cages for most of his adult life and Venceremos revolutionaries, at a lower level, could dig it: "...they all hung out around Popeye. (The UPU) was the center of activity... they had meetings in there and all the committees." They didn't always get along: "There was a meeting... and Popeye came in, and took over. Bruce Doring was a pretty nice guy; you know, a revolutionary brother... and he criticized Popeye, said something like: 'Now just wait a minute Popeye'. And, Popeye said: 'What? Tell me to wait a minute, mother fucker? Step outside!' They were going to start fighting."

Why did the Central Committee put up with Popeye? "The principles of unity of Venceremos; before you could constitute yourself as a Venceremos organization, you had to have more than 50% on the central committee (that were) black, third world minority, or women. So, they always needed blacks, it was a big problem... it was hard to find them. Popeye was a perfect guy; he was a revolutionary, he had contacts with the prisoners... Popeye was saying what

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everybody wanted to hear." However, "He drove a Cadillac, was a chauvinist, extremely sexist! We were supposed to accept him as a superior because he'd done 19 years. Popeye was an embarrassment and an affront to revolutionary principles. We all failed to act, to denounce him, for the fear that he was, perhaps, ahead of us; a higher political consciousness. It was racism in its worst form, we patronized him.

"He used to handle and fondle women. Self-respecting revolutionary women... good women, even though they were communists. (That's) what really pissed me off I guess... seeing what he did to women. He made one revolutionary woman turn a trick. She fought it all the way, but she turned out for him.. She didn't do it for money, she did it for him. He made her wear mini-skirts and makeup. She gave up her struggle and vanished; she was just a broken woman."

Alexander Jason was on his way up. He found out everything about everybody in his 8 months under cover and when he surfaced, immediately became a detective in San Francisco Police Intelligence. The movement issued a WANTED poster with his picture but Alex had grown to like the sisters and brothers he spied upon. "I have admiration and respect for true revolutionary figures and, they wouldn't believe it, affection." He had no respect or admiration for Popeye and immediately planted an informer, Jessica, in the UPU offices. She made daily reports, took pictures with a camera he provided, took Popeye's car for an illegal search, and loaned Alex the keys to the UPU offices so that he could make duplicates. "She told me what Popeye was doing... how he was dealing dope and giving her dope... She knew he was a phony and... she couldn't even spell Mao. I asked: 'what happened today?' and she said: 'There was a meeting'. Well, what were they talking about? She said: 'about

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this guy Mayo or something'. What? She said: 'Mayo'. I said oh, Mao. God-damn it, you better learn this shit if you're gonna be an undercover agent. For Christ's sake, Mayo!

"She knew what Popeye was, she'd seen him all her life; she was a little street rat. She knew Popeye was just a big con-man nigger... she knew he wasn't no... higher level of consciousness crap, he was just a big bullshitter. He liked her because she did a lot... they had these benefit dances and things and he trusted her because she wasn't a revolutionary and he put her at the door to collect money. ...he'd go back and take the money and she wouldn't say anything about it because, she didn't give a shit; she was stealing money too, probably. If a revolutionary were there, they would say: 'we took in 500 bucks and where's this gonna go?' She said that the other women were always fighting over him, (saying things like): 'When Popeye comes in, I'm sitting next to him', ridiculous stuff."

Alex spent a lot of time watching Popeye: "One girl I talked to... was a whore down in the Mission, and she was really afraid of Popeye, because he beat her up a couple times. He'd come up, just a pimp: 'Hey bitch, I want you to work for me' and she'd say: 'I don't work for you'... He'd slap her around and try to recruit her; she was afraid of him. And she bought drugs, she bought heroin from him. That was one case I could have substantiated (at the big trial), I blew it! Jessy was telling me about all the drug dealing he was doing. I thought, gee, maybe some time when she knows he's carrying a lot of heroin... we'll make a little set-up. I was trying to think about it but ... I didn't want to break up what he was doing... I didn't get along with the guys in narcotics that well anyway. Then he gets arrested... and they say I

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framed him... I didn't even know he was arrested 'till the next day."

That arrest was the beginning of a major event in Bay Area Radical politics. The day before, a sister Sandra was busted for prostitution and, according to the cops, told them that she was on her way to score heroin from Popeye at 18th and Mission streets where he was dealing out of the trunk of his car. The heroin was supposed to be in a tennis shoe. He wasn't there when they got there but they saw him the next day and said that he gave them permission to search his car, which doesn't seem likely. The tennis shoes were in the trunk and in the toe of one was a credit card in the name of George K., some grass, and seven dime-bags of heroin. Popeye was down, with a bad beef. He was charged with possession of heroin, grass, and a stolen credit card. Alex was there, secretly listening to his conversations over the jail visiting telephone system: "...They got me for some bad shit this time. We gotta get Ron Dellums, get Ken Mead, and Cecil Williams. Let's get these guys working." Two U.S. Congresspersons and the fiery reverend, and that was just the beginning.

Jessy had blown her cover: "She did a lot of dumb things... she told other people, people in bars... so, eventually, the word got back to them. They said: 'alright, we know about you, and you're going to cooperate, or else!' She's just a little street rat, she'll work for anybody. (So she said): Sure, I'm on your side'. They took her into the hills..." A press conference was called and Jessy, flanked by Venceremos members, admitted that she was on the police payroll and said that Jason had set Popeye up; that she knew about it in advance.

candidly admitted that there may have been some pressure. He didn't have any direct information but thought there had been "...pressure from both sides".

Jason: "She snuck away while everybody was asleep one night... she called me and said: 'I'm sorry about that and I'll help you now'. So... she testified for us... that saying that I had framed Popeye was a bunch of bullshit. She came back out of conscience..."

"She couldn't help much, she never remembered dates, never remembered times... it was a big problem. There was nothing concrete she could say about Popeye that would really hang him." Having changed her story, the jury didn't believe her. Sister Sandra also recanted, leaving the prosecution with no one but the arresting officers who had bungled the evidence, lost the tennis shoes, and were not credible because of their bullshit about Popeye giving permission to search his car.

The Bay Area is not the place to try to convict a revolutionary; the most radical groups in the country are there and have a broad base of support in the community. There's no better place to get a good jury, and Popeye's returned a not guilty.

Popeye, however, was on parole. The parole board - they call themselves the Adult Authority - was to prove a more formidable opponent. If you're on parole and get arrested, they can keep you from making bail by placing a parole "hold" and make you prepare your defense from a jail cell. They can revoke your parole even after a jury finds you innocent. After Popeye was acquitted, they dropped the parole hold and let him out of jail but announced that they

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would hold a revocation hearing. Nobody much likes the parole board and the community exploded. The issues were clear: they were trying to revoke Popeye's parole for a crime the jury said he didn't commit. FREE POPEYE buttons and posters appeared and it was written on walls and fences everywhere. There were talk shows, newscasts, and rallies; the movement lined up solidly behind Popeye for the first and last time. The unit parole office was flooded with letters and phone calls and the board itself was probably deluged; few were unaware of the battle that was being fought. Popeye had become the event of the season.

San Quentin is a bleak fortress. Like the abandoned Alcatraz in the same San Francisco Bay, it is the prison of the 40's gangster movies, thirty years older. Its walls are high and wide; wide enough for a gunwalk on top. The main gun tower at the front gate features a machine gun on a 360° track and it is an arsenal for teargas guns, small arms, machine guns, bombs, and anti-personnel grenades. To get to the big yard, you have to go through 4 separate locked gates; to get into the adjustment center or the regular hole, add three or four more. If you got all the way inside, there would always be a gunwalk overhead. If you got inside a cell, through the bars you would see two gunwalks opposite you. On the gunwalks are cops with sidearms for hand to hand combat; they also carry either a rifle, a shotgun, or a machine gun. It was here that the board decided to hold Popeye's revocation hearing; they had taken counsel from their private C.I.A., and Popeye had to go.

"Special Services is the CIA of corrections" said one parole officer, and they are remarkably alike. SS does the dirty work for the board, for corrections and paroles, and on their own initiative; mostly on their own initiative.

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They are the only parole agents who carry guns, and they use them. Another parole officer tells of one of the SS approaching a regular agent with mistaken information about a parolee on his caseload. They went to the parolee's house to confront him but he wouldn't open the door. The SS agent shot him in the stomach through the door. A brother tells of getting an unexpected parole with a year to go 'till his "top". He was quickly transferred from the adjustment center to a minimum security prison to "decompress" and allowed out on work furlough during the day. A mind-blowing experience for someone who has spent 9 years inside; women!

Then the SS arrived. If he wanted to keep his parole, he would have to corroborate the testimony of an informer who was the basis of a very heavy case that they very much wanted to win. To have done so would surely have cost him his life and he told them: "No fucking way!" Fortunately, he could only be made to do one more year and that was not sufficient leverage. They could not bend him to their will, and they split. The SS were bluffing and the brother did not lose his parole.

Informers are an SS specialty and they surrounded Popeye with them. They knew everything he was doing and presented the board with a long list that included dealing heroin, pimping, hot checks, counterfeit money, weapons, intimidating witnesses, and close ties to terrorists. Bill Fredericks told the board: "He's one of the worst" and gave them 3 secret reports. They have never been seen by anyone outside of corrections and they claim that all copies have now been destroyed. Whatever they said made the board very determined and they forged ahead in the face of large and growing opposition from every quarter.

On April 23, 1974, Popeye walked through the main gate at San Quentin, perhaps

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never to return which would surely have upset his 150 supporters who marched in the rain outside. Along with Popeye and his lawyers were 18 favorable witnesses including sister Sandra, a well known T.V. newscaster, a doctor and a medical student, a parole specialist, Reverends Bonwell and Cecil Williams, Willie Brown from the state assembly, and U.S. Congressperson Ron Dellums.

In the longest revocation hearing in history, Popeye's team overwhelmed them. All the revocation charges except the heroin possession were successfully challenged by his attorney because they were based on hearsay evidence; this included the 3 secret SS reports. Then his lawyer argued that the heroin possession should be thrown out as well since Popeye had already been acquitted of that charge by a jury. The board noted that the kind of evidence allowed in court to determine conviction of a crime and the kind of evidence used in determining a violation of a condition of parole could differ. This was another way of saying what all cons know: the board does what it wants to do. In a normal hearing, nothing can be truly "thrown out"; it can only become a "silent beef" and they're often the worst kind.

But this was not a normal revocation hearing; everybody was watching. Popeye's witnesses went to work on the heroin charge with one voice. No one, in the farthest reach of their imagination, could believe Popeye could be in possession of heroin. His anti-drug attitudes were too well known; he gave speeches in the high schools about the evils of drugs. Cecil Williams was "well aware of Popeye's tremendous work in the field of drug prevention" and could not see how Popeye could ever possess or sell drugs. "Popeye was involved with the top people in the community and was a very committed man. It would be a dramatic contradiction if he were ever to sell narcotics." In an absurd face-saving act that concealed their total defeat, the board found Popeye guilty of possession

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of heroin but reinstituted his parole anyway. Popeye had won.

Was Popeye dealing heroin? Sheila knew: "I was there and saw him sell heroin... Tony went to score and I was with him. Popeye was discussing ...some dope that he had with brother O. and how much it was going to cost and then they went into another room... came back out again, Popeye left, and O. showed Tony the dope... said 'this is what I just bought' and Popeye was the only other person in the room." Was it good dope? "No, it was shit."

George K., whose credit card was found in the tennis shoe with the heroin, had been scoring from Popeye's wife, Sue, for some time. Popeye took over the heroin business when he decided that he could handle the dope and Sue could turn tricks; that way, they'd both be making money. He put Sue back on the street and, for a short period, he sold a lot of heroin. George scored from him a lot, often copping at the UPU offices and scored from Popeye at 18th and Mission, ten minutes before the bust. George didn't have enough money to cover what he was buying and gave Popeye his credit card to hold as collateral. Popeye put it in the tennis shoe with the heroin and it was found there ten minutes later by the arresting officers. The stolen credit card charges were dropped when George would not say that it had been stolen.

Popeye had marshalled the support of many sisters and brothers who did not know him well, while a lot of those who did had grown to hate him. Sheila: "I really do have a bad opinion of him... you know, it's close to hatred... on a lot of levels, I think he should have died... but, buying into that... is like saying that's the way we should live. If we can't live together, then we should just wipe each other out in the fucking street."

Pat: "Popeye had so many enemies, especially inside... Popeye knew that if he got back inside the joint, he wouldn't leave alive; there were too many convicts after him, there were too many who wanted to see him dead. I couldn't stand being in the same room with him."

"No long faces" was the word received from the yard at Folsom after he was dead. The heavy revolutionaries in the San Quentin adjustment center, "didn't dig him".

Alexander Janon: "I'm glad he's dead, he was an evil person; there was no redeeming value in Popeye Jackson. I thought about killing him myself actually. I did, I really did. I thought: Gee, I'd sure like to put a bullet in his head. I was so glad when I heard that someone else did..." Fortunately he didn't, for Popeye's enemies had given up on him too easily, too soon.

PUT A BULLET IN
POPEYE'S HEAD

Cons who have done much time know that it takes awhile to catch-up after you're back among normal people. It takes positive experiences to reorder your awareness and lift it from the ruts of hatred and fear that are everyday experiences in the joint. The love of comrades is an unfamiliar experience that cannot be immediately integrated. Yet, it is love that is their salvation, if they can learn to accept and give it. As brother George Jackson told us: "...love is the stronger force, if we just let it hang out unbridled..." Popeye, new hero of the revolution, had begun the last year of his life, but something had changed. Somewhere in the middle of being in jail, the trial, and the revocation hearing, Popeye had changed; something had entered his head that was more powerful than a bullet: the force of love.

Hundreds of sisters and brothers had lined-up behind Popeye out of comradely

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love for a brother they thought was being treated unfairly. He was most powerfully effected by the forces he had set in motion and would never again be the same. After the revocation hearing, as he walked out of San Quentin into the rain and the arms of his comrades who had stood in it all day, the excitement caused one brother to have a seizure. Ignoring the cheers of the crowd, Popeye went directly to him and, squatting in the rain, held him in his arms. For Popeye, it was the beginning of a new life. Now there was a revolution to think about and a most revolutionary woman, Pat Singer.

Pat had done two years in Ohio on a 5 to 20 for possession of a small amount of grass and, then, a year in Washington D.C. on parole. Her father died while she was doing time, leaving her with no family but a brother and some cousins. Late in 1973, she came to the Bay Area, looking for something to do that would make life interesting. Attracted to the prison movement, she drifted into Popeye's orbit. She was just what he had been looking for, an articulate woman ex-con who was willing to speak, and they were soon sharing the task of telling audiences what it was like in the joint. Popeye no longer had the time for hustling; beating the heroin charge had become a full time job. Shortly after the victory at San Quentin, they were living together.

The UPU had never amounted to much; Popeye dominated it and it was just one of his many hustles. He gave a lot of speeches but no one did much real work. Pat had energy. Sally: "I really think it was Pat Singer. I hate to be sexist but I think she deserves much more credit than he does. He was totally untogether on the whole revolution. Only when she came in and started working with the UPU did it finally develop a certain continuity... a certain something that it never had before... She got work done! They put together a film series; I heard her speak on the radio; it was good! I think she had a stabilizing in-

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fluence in that organization and on Popeye that he never had before. She was... instrumental in trying to get a new jacket on Popeye; that Popeye had seen the light. 'He used to be a hustler...' I don't believe this happened."

But Sally was wrong and it wasn't mostly Popeye or mostly Pat, it was Popeye and Pat. They spoke together and co-wrote articles; he learned about a revolutionary life style and about work. For lack of funds, they had to move the UPU offices out of Glide Church and found free quarters with the White Panthers. Cecil Williams, head of Glide and Popeye's eulogizer after his death, was questioned about the UPU departure from Glide. The Cecil Williams' tapes were reviewed by the peoples' court and they unanimously decided that he had not been truthful so his answers are not included here. Full transcripts of these tapes are available from the court.

The new UPU offices needed a lot of work, and Popeye did most of it himself. He had become a family man; Popeye, Pat, and his 3 year old son: "My man Malcolm". Brother Don who lived across the street said: "He spent a lot of time playing with the kids on the street". In the nearby projects, he played basketball with neighborhood youngsters.

Pat and Popeye fell in love. Not the gross sexual love which was all he'd known, ^{But} the respect and affection of a higher love between two very far out people who had experienced and suffered much. They began to know each other, and became answerable to each other; he had never answered to anyone before. Each incorporated part of the other in their own awareness and responded to each others' values. Pat might question whether a thing was right or true, Popeye whether it was powerful or useful. It was heavy stuff, and it pushed aside his concern for money so they were poor. While most of his earlier

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associates had become enemies, it was now possible to love him and he made real friends. He stopped getting arrested and his new parole officer, gaining respect for the work he was doing, began to defend and commend him to superiors. He served on committees, and did not break up the meetings. He would not attack his old enemies, even when specifically invited to do so. Toward his comrades he mellowed, and his anger became focused on his real enemy, the ruling class. It was they who were responsible for his years of suffering and for the suffering of his sisters and brothers, inside and out.

It was a very large anger, and nothing but their physical destruction would satisfy it. Popeye was the major proponent of total warfare. No matter how difficult or dangerous an action, it usually fell short of what he would expect from a real revolutionary. He defended the SLA when the most radical groups were unwilling to do so after the Marcus Foster murder. Cyanide bullets and an unknown target, a black one at that, just didn't make much sense but no one wanted to be less revolutionary than Popeye, the hero of the movement, defeater of the board. Popeye not only defended the SLA, he insisted that they were the model for correct revolutionary action. Everybody reacted defensively and the peoples' forces underground stepped up the frequency and intensity of their operations. Many of them were Popeye's comrades from the days of Venceremos. The police must have been quite concerned about what Popeye was doing; this was a whole lot heavier than giving weapons' instruction. The ruling class were on the way to reaping the very bitter harvest of anger that grew in a human being they had kept in a cage for most of his adult life. Brother Bob Dylan: "Some-day they'll wind up and meet you at your crossroads, from inside the walls..."

The revolution, the movement, was at the crossroads. A large number of bro-

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thers and sisters, frustrated by their inability to make rapid change in a system that could do such things, were ready to tear the system apart with guns and bombs. Would the revolution manifest a large underground of terrorists to fight a class that would not yield to any lesser pressure? Popeye said, "Yes". He called those already underground a bunch of punks and plastic revolutionaries. For a sister or brother who had put his life on the line for the revolution and was trying to be a model of courage, Popeye's words sounded like trashing. Even some of his closest partners thought he went too far.

Sleepy: "I always felt that trashing the underground groups was trashing the work they did... I pretty much uncritically support the underground." Part of Popeye's attitude was, of course, projection. He was not, after all, doing any of the actions he was urging on others. He had no taste for living underground.

Popeye: "The reason I never wanted to escape was because... I didn't want to be continually ducking and dodging and not being able to even get stopped by the pigs, knowing if they run a make, I was going back to jail. I didn't want to live under those conditions." It was more than projection though, he wanted to put his fist in the face of the enemy. Just as he had marshalled the strength of the movement to whip the board, he would direct it in delivering more telling blows. Popeye now had greater stature in the movement and his great anger was now clearly focused, rather than dissipated in a thousand trivial hates. Popeye was a hard man to ignore. He now had a cadre of revolutionaries in the UPU to back his play, and amplify his voice.

There were a few distractions however. He had wronged a lot of bro-

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thers and sisters, many of them very violent people, and they would not forget. People kept trying to kill him. Getting shot at was not an unusual event, particularly while driving an automobile. There is a bullet hole in the roof of his old Cadillac with a trajectory that says he was fired upon from in front, the second story of a building on the right side of the street. The bullet, a large one, probably fired from a rifle, must have passed within inches of his head. Sally Voyer's car was riddled with bullets from a .45 calibre pistol as he, Pat, and Malcolm miraculously escaped a small barrage. These were both planned ambushes and the size of the bullets plainly says that someone was very serious. Everybody seems to agree that: "Popeye had a lot of enemies"; the kind who don't care if they blow away a three year old child or an innocent bystander. That kind of hatred can only be personal.

Popeye continued to grow. He was able to talk of his recent past in these terms: "I was on a hell of an ego trip at that point. I was putting forth the image of Popeye Jackson, not thinking about the comrades who were locked down inside also. It took me a long time to get my shit together. Gradually, my political level, my conscience level, began to be raised to a level of awareness and I saw that it wasn't just me that needed help. I saw that a lot of people needed help. All these things began to help me get my shit together."

And, he talked about prisons: "...I've seen them use pick axe handles to just beat people. I saw them knock out a convict named Robert, just knocked his eye clean out of the socket. When I was in Folsom, I saw... comrades shot... for fistfighting. In some of these instances, they wasn't even fighting, they was horse playing. The pig said: "I thought they was fighting", and shot them. It's the only place in the world where people are shot for a fistfight. Anywhere men and women congregate, there's going to be disputes that's gonna lead to fisti-

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cuffs but that's the only place in the world where human beings are shot, and killed, for a fistfight."

He was even beginning to understand the plight of the cops: "We have to understand that the prison guards are subjected to a lot of bullshit too, because they are dealing with a system that we have been forced to adhere to... for two hundred years." Nevertheless: "If I had my way, I'd get a machine gun, line them all up against the walls, and blow their fucking asses up, right today! If a situation would arise where it'd be me or a pig, I'd blow his fucking ass up and I want that clearly understood because this is where my head is at. I'm a fucking revolutionary, and I put forth revolutionary politics at all times. I'm not here involved in no fucking prison reform, no fucking rehabilitation program, 'cause I know, from 19 years of being inside, that there's no such thing as reform or rehabilitation. Anybody who puts that forth, is fucked up as far as I'm concerned. I want it understood! Anybody here that come here thinking I'm going to talk about reformism or rehabilitation... fuck you! And I want that clearly understood..."

What Popeye didn't understand was that if you were going to take on the system in such a direct fashion, you had to be very, very careful. On August 19th, he and Pat made a very big mistake. They boosted a roll of film and some flash-cubes at a department store and the clerk in the camera department saw them. He attracted the attention of a store detective and they caught up with Popeye and Pat in the women's department, picking up two other store detectives on the way. The four of them watched while Popeye stole two blouses for Pat, sticking them down inside his pants. An airtight case with 4 eyewitnesses; just what the man dreams about when he's looking for a way to send you back.

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The new Popeye - and there could be no better example of how he'd changed - publicly apologized to the movement for having done a very stupid thing. When had he ever apologized for anything before? If it was a revolutionary crime, it was a small one, for many people in the movement boast and not a few do most of their eating in Safeway. The man however, was thinking of more than a public apology.

Tom Creary is a "high-power" District Attorney who handles all the political cases. He may not have tried many petty theft cases, but he was ready to try this one. Judd Scott, Popeye's lawyer, asked what kind of a deal could be made and the answer was none. They wanted the full pound of flesh; plead guilty and take the maximum sentence or go to trial, lose, and take the maximum sentence. It was not a promising situation and everybody agrees that Popeye was worried, very worried. If he was returned to San Quentin, he would have been killed by old enemies or have spent the rest of his life in the adjustment center. He did, after all, have a life top. No more speeches, no more Malcolm, no more revolution, no more Pat; a lot to worry about. He touched bases with all his establishment friends including Randolph Hearst but who could be optimistic? They had a case, and Popeye had a parole. As one brother said: "Petty with a prior, you go to the joint! How many guys have gone back to the pen, just for saying something crazy to their parole officer?" There have been a few, for sure.

Judd Scott could think of no strategy; his only tactic was to stall. Judd stalled so long and so hard that he worried the Judge would get pissed at him. Lawyers can't afford to have Judges who become angry with their tactics; in the next case you might find yourself with no room to maneuver at all. Still, he continued to stall; there was nothing else to do.

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Suddenly, the cloud passed. The tactics of desperation had been the tactics of victory! Judd had stalled so long that they had to take the high-power D.A. off Popeye's case; there were more important things for him to do. He was replaced by a most agreeable and cooperative D.A., Jamie Sutton. He was ready to deal, and the deal got sweeter and sweeter until Judd had him down to 60 days in the county jail. "Sutton would have gone for no time at all..." but the Judge wouldn't go for that. He did, however, agree to delay execution of sentence until after Popeye's parole discharge date, April 4th. A complete turnabout! Pat got 10 days which was not a very good deal at all for a woman who had never been busted for anything but grass and was 6 months pregnant.

If this was a great victory, it was only preliminary. Once again, as Judd says: "It was the Adult Authority I was really worried about." And well he should have been; less than a year before, in the words of a parole officer, "Popeye made fools of them." The parole board had been made to answer to the people and did not like what they had been forced to do. They did not like the precedent, and they did not like Popeye. You do not demand formal hearings when they've got you and so neither Popeye nor Judd would even be present when the board made their decision. The only other principal in the drama would be Popeye's parole officer, John Williams; he had to make a recommendation.

John is a gentle soul who has made a career of helping cons who would, otherwise, be swallowed up by the stupidity of Corrections. He is respected among Bay Area cons for his integrity, truthfulness, and for invariably being on their side. He is assigned all the heavy cases because he can get along with them; SS does the real supervision anyway.

John liked Popeye, and he likes most everyone, and he wrote a very good recom-

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mendation: "Mr. Jackson's only source of income is... welfare payments for his minor son and Ms. Singer's wages from her part time job. The couple live very simply, often sharing their modest flat with parolees who need temporary housing. Mr. Jackson continued to refuse to discuss the incident, although the couple have pled innocent in court. If Mr. Jackson is guilty, the petty theft is seen as a slight regression due to financial stress, and not on-going behavior. The proposed local county jail sentence would be more than adequate punishment for this crime. Mr. Jackson's good deeds for ex-offenders also deserves consideration. (Recommend) continue on parole without refixing term. Allow Mr. Jackson to discharge on 4-4-75."

In 1972, Popeye's parole officer was Bob McDonough and he made a favorable recommendation on the guns and hot car beef. He was overruled and Popeye was violated even though they could find no reason other than traffic tickets. In 1973 and 1974, Popeye's parole officers were Fred Steinberg and Rich Prouty. They were consistently overruled by the board and superiors in Corrections when they made favorable recommendations. In 1975, without even waiting to find out if Popeye pled or was found guilty, they adopted John's recommendation. According to Raymond Procunier, Chairman of the Board, "At the revocation hearing, there simply was not a sound enough case against him to revoke parole."

"Pro" was Rengan's Director of Corrections before the new governor appointed him Chairman; it was Brown's most controversial appointment. His lieutenant, Hiro Enimoto, was appointed Director. Pro is the man. He responded to a letter that asked if Popeye had made a deal by writing: "I have had your letter in the matter of Popeye Jackson thoroughly investigated, numerous people and the records were consulted. There was no deal made at any time, nor was there any information uncovered that Popeye was working as an informant." Who was

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consulted? He did not know, his "investigator" had done all that. Who was his investigator? He would not say. It didn't matter anyway, he'd just left on a three week vacation. Which board members were on the panel at Popeye's revocation hearing? Again, he wouldn't say. Wasn't that a matter of public record? "I don't know." Pro was taking the responsibility for everything, "taking all the heat" as he put it.

A request to interview Bill Fredericks of the SS was referred to Phil Guthrie, Assistant Director of Corrections for Public Information. He, the director, and George Jackson, another Assistant Director, considered the matter. Collective decision making had come to Corrections and the collective decision was no, Fredericks would not be available for an interview. Guthrie: "...we are not prepared to authorize an interview with Mr. Fredericks of our Special Services Unit. As you probably know, this unit functions as a liason service with various law enforcement agencies, and it receives some information developed from informants and other police intelligence sources. Such information, much of it speculative or unreliable, cannot properly be discussed in any public context." So, much SS information was speculative or unreliable. Defense Attorneys should remember this when confronted with their secret reports.

Guthrie would, however: "...be happy to cooperate with you in providing all public record type information" from Popeye's file. The documents requested included the minutes of the revocation hearing and anything else pertaining to that event, copy of the letter Popeye had written directly to the board at the time of the 1972 guns and hot car beef, and some others of no consequence. Unfortunately, everything of importance was mysteriously missing from the Sacramento file. Guthrie couldn't understand why but it was of no importance, the Central file at Region office would have everything, and Guthrie would send for

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it immediately.

It arrived barer than Mother Hubbard's cupboard. "In accordance with departmental procedures", it had been sent to the archives at Vacaville after Popeye's discharge, and it had been "stripped" of non-essential material. The non-essential included everything requested of importance. Even items that were supposed to be retained were missing. The 1972 letter should have been there, as well as the remarks the board makes in a revocation hearing, the "279 form". Where did it go?

Corrections and the board decided, after consultation, that it had never existed. Regulations did not demand one in cases where the board took no unfavorable action, and none was written in Popeye's case. Guthrie passed this information along and said it had come straight from the board, but would not say who had told him. He was the new flak catcher. Asked to put it in writing, he responded with a letter that said no 279 was required by regulations. He was reminded that he had said: "no 279 was issued" over the telephone and was asked to say that in writing but has yet to reply.

Pro's cover-up was most thorough; he dealt with the only other file, the unit parole file, in this manner: Immediately after his investigation began, the unit supervisor, Ike Rivers, had called for the file. Had someone called him from Sacramento about Popeye? No. Absolutely not. Rivers had called for the file, "out of curiosity". He had not been curious when Popeye was killed, nor even when the newspapers quoted unnamed sources, one from the State Government, as saying that Popeye was an informer; not even when he received a letter about Popeye that seemed to threaten his life. But, that day, he was curious. No one talked to him about Popeye from Sacramento? Never. When told that

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Guthrie had said that he had talked to him, he said that he had a bad memory. Was he sure that he had removed nothing from the file? Definitely! Under questioning, he became very upset and forcefully restated all that he had said. Someone who saw him later that day said that he was still upset.

Unfortunately for Rivers and whoever gave the order, two people had seen and read the never issued 279 form in Popeye's parole file, shortly before his curiosity moved him to call for it. The file had been in a particular place in the middle of a stack of similar files that were in no particular order and, since Popeye's death, no one else had asked to see it. While it is not appropriate to name the two persons who saw and read the 279 form at this time, they are both prepared to testify, under oath, in the unlikely event that any official body wishes to undertake an investigation of Corrections and the parole board. The governor and one of his aides were asked to break the wall of silence and deception that was being built, but he did not respond. It must be assumed that he approved of what his Chairman did.

The 279 form wasn't even an important document; it used John Williams' words, almost verbatim, as reasons for not violating Popeye's parole. When Pro orders a cover up, he gets everything. One can only wonder what was lost from the Sacramento file or stripped from the file at Vacaville. The people's court concluded that no one orders a cover up when there is nothing to cover up.

It is unreasonable to believe that the high-power D.A. was pulled off Popeye's case because he had more important things to do. The case was airtight and required absolutely no effort. Judd Scott admits that it is possible Popeye made a deal that he knew nothing about. It is also unreasonable to believe that Popeye's case would have been dealt with so leniently by a board that

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had tried so hard to revoke his parole less than a year before. John Williams' reasoning that "they were tired of hassling with him" does not seem sound since they have never grown tired of hassling with anyone else. The argument that Popeye would be too much of a problem at San Quentin or Folsom is absurd. Nobody's much of a problem in the adjustment center and, if they are, they can be put in a strip cell or, for that matter, shot dead. Would Popeye have been a greater problem than brother George? Would Fredericks, Popeye's nemesis, have passed up an opportunity to get "one of the worst"?

And so, the court concluded, Popeye was caught in the cruellest squeeze of all; San Quentin on one side, and the SS on the other. It might have gone something like this. Fredericks: "If you don't want to go back to San Quentin with your time refixed for a crime where you were caught cold and for which you can expect little sympathy from the movement, you'd better start playing ball fast." What could Popeye do? What would you have done?

The head of the SS turns out to be no less than an assistant Director of Corrections. His name is not on any of the directories and his office is in the transportation section of the huge State Office Building No. 8 in Sacramento; not even on the same floor with the rest of Corrections. You can't get in to see him but if you hang around in the corridors, look for a thick, muscular man with practically no neck. He spends a lot of time walking in the corridors and a peoples' investigator confronted him there and asked for the SS manual. He was told that it was secret which was later confirmed by Guthrie, ~~and then interrogated~~. He found out the investigator's name and the fact that he was an ex-con from Guthrie and ordered his secret police to investigate him. A witness in the department will swear that this investigation took place; an illegal investigation since the person investigated was not

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on parole. It is not clear what, if anything, would restrain the SS from unprincipled or illegal actions. Emmitt Hurst is their leader and, as Guthrie unwittingly said, their specialty is informers.

The SS had "the main man" and one can only guess how they celebrated, what was said at the strategy conference, or who attended. It is possible that Fredericks and the local unit were operating entirely on their own initiative. They certainly did not need to have such opportunities pointed out to them. The specific information forced from Popeye in order to compromise him might have been the location and time of two secret meetings that the police raided shortly after Popeye began his 60 day sentence; it may have been something else.

It seems reasonable to conclude that Popeye, given the kind of person he was, would have given the SS as little information as he could have gotten away with. He may have tried to deceive them, and give them nothing of value at all, but they were certainly smarter than that. They probably kept the pressure on until he came up with something satisfactory. Even the SS were probably not sure exactly how Popeye could be used in the future. Had he lived, the decision would likely have been made at a very high level in police intelligence circles. There must have been a lot of long faces in those circles and at SS headquarters when he was killed; great opportunities forever lost.

The peoples' court concluded that Popeye had been killed by an old enemy, not by police or revolutionaries. Even the police would not have killed Sally Voye; it was so unnecessary and not their way of doing things at all. They have too many time tested ways of killing people and do not usually kill their people. Revolutionaries who knew Popeye had been compromised would

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certainly have explained the action to their sisters and brothers. There are few people who would care so little about taking the life of the apparently innocent sister Sally. Some person who had done a lot of time seems the most likely possibility since many of Popeye's enemies had been crazed by that experience. There are plenty of brothers in Folsom or San Quentin who are capable of committing the murders in that way; ruthless beyond imagination, they might kill twenty innocent people to get to one enemy.

There are many lessons to be learned from Popeye's life and one of the most important is that a brother or sister who has done a lot of time is not a higher political or revolutionary consciousness. The experience is warping and dementing; you emerge from it no longer sane. These sisters and brothers can never be looked to for leadership, even if they seek such a role, until they have first been made whole by the love and understanding of their comrades. Anyone who thinks otherwise, invites tragedy.

Popeye had no principled theory and yet we allowed him to dictate tactics; tactics that were based only on anger. If his final speeches sounded like the words of an agent provocateur, it was only that we were coming closer to seeing the truth; Popeye had been saying the same things since the day he was released from San Quentin in 1970. There was simply no way for the SS to have turned Popeye into an agent provocateur for he had been one all along; not for the man, but in service to his own anger. He was already the best of all possible provocateurs for he believed every word he said. Sadly, many brothers and sisters also came to believe. With clear eyes, they looked into the face of the monster that confronts us, and determined to tear him apart with a frontal assault. How naive to think that blowing up a building at San Quentin would

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serve any useful purpose. The explosion was probably used to justify the creation of 10 new guard positions in the new budget. When they get bored watching for peoples' forces, they will shake down cells, hassle people on the yard, agitate unrest, and all the other things they do for amusement or out of dedication. To capture one we might call a pig in order to force the release of comrades inside is madness. Could we cut his throat after the bluff was called, as it surely would be, and call it principled tactics? Imagine the reaction that would follow. The police, whose power we are slowly diminishing, would become immensely more powerful and everyone would have to suffer. Goading them into harming a lot of brothers and sisters is not principled! That is not the way to educate the people.

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INAPPROPRIATE IN PUBLIC CONTEXT

Many people are oppressed by lust for power, greed, selfishness, and other vitiations of consciousness and they, in turn, oppress others. The ruling class we call them. To set out to punish all the oppressors is a very large task indeed for very few are wholly innocent. As our comrades of the New World Liberation Front have wisely seen, the first priority of the revolution is the conception and acceptance of principled theory, strategy, and tactics, in that order. If we recklessly adopt the tactics of the unprincipled enemy, we may become the thing we profess to hate.

How can we tell a real revolutionary from a phony, a Popeye Jackson or an Alexander Jason? We must start with a clear and acceptable definition and this seems easy: A revolutionary is a sister or brother whose actions are in the interest of the people. Anyone who puts their own interests before those of the people, could not be considered very revolutionary. A revolutionary is selfless, a pig is selfish. It takes little more than a can-

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ual glance to tell the difference. If a comrade is always ready to help a brother or sister, or all the people, with risk or cost given little thought, that comrade is a revolutionary. It can be seen in the smallest things for it is a mistake to think that large actions are more important than small ones; you cannot judge the worth of an action by the magnitude of its consequences. A smile or a small kindness stands on the same level as offering one's life for the cause if it springs from revolutionary consciousness. Large changes are but the cumulative result of many small actions and large actions cannot be done correctly if the small actions are unrevolutionary. Revolutionary consciousness discovers its field of expression in every incident and situation which might be passed over by an unenlightened comrade as too insignificant to deserve attention. Large actions should be undertaken by comrades who are in the most favorable position to do them but should never be sought for their own sake.

The only conclusion rejected by the peoples' court was: "Popeye made many errors, but the ultimate guilt belongs to a system of oppression responsible for the black ghetto and the department of Corrections. He spent the greatest part of his life under their influence and his consciousness was corrupted and warped. Revolutionary practice was his salvation, and was slowly unleashing higher levels of awareness. To have suffered so much and still been capable of growth is to be one of the true heroes of the revolution. There is no greater heroism."

The only disagreement was over the last sentence. The majority would have accepted a lesser word than hero, a minority would accept nothing less.

The majority position was that we have all suffered and we all grow; if that

was heroic, it was not great heroism. The minority felt that there is no action more difficult or frightening than changing yourself. Causing explosions is child's play by comparison; it requires only courage and a sense of adventure. Popeye changed himself from a heroin dealing pimp who left a trail of suffering in his wake to a brother others could and did love; who loved his comrades and played with the children on the street. How many brothers and sisters would claim that they could have done this? Unable to agree, the peoples' court submits this question to the people: who will our heroes be?

Popeye was the perfect founder of the United Prisoners' Union for he is such a perfect example of all the strengths and flaws of the convicted class. His lifetime should be lovingly remembered by all of us who have walked the big yard. We are all Popeye.

END

9/18/48

POPEYE - SUPPLEMENT

Transcripts of all the tapes, copies of important correspondence, extracts from confidential documents, minutes of the peoples' court, and more complete descriptions of the events and reasoning connected with Popeye are available from the court.

The court requests comments, criticism and revolutionary dialogue. All sisters and brothers are invited to respond.

A small cash donation of from 12 to 15 is solicited from comrades requesting the complete version of Popeye. This money will be used for duplication, mailing, and to provide free copies to brothers and sisters who cannot afford to make a donation, particularly those in prisons. Excess funds would be given to charity.

Address correspondence to:

Peoples' Court
423 Oak Street
San Francisco 94102

42153
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5. Popeye had come a long way, but still had a long way to go: he made a deal to keep from having his parole revoked and his time refixed after being busted for petty theft in 1974.
6. At the time of his death, he had been compromised by the Special Services agents of the Department of Corrections and could have been forced to do their bidding at any future point. He was not a full-time informer and would probably have given them as little assistance as he could have gotten away with.
7. It is possible that he was killed by revolutionaries who knew that he had been compromised.
8. It is very unlikely that he was murdered by police since they would have no motive. If the police had wanted him dead, they could have returned him to the safer environment of San Quentin and murdered him at their pleasure.
9. It is most likely that he was killed by someone with a grudge. He had many enemies who were capable of the act and there were numerous attempts on his life.
10. Sally Voge was a dangerous eyewitness, or got in the way, or both.
11. People's justice is a weighty matter for which there are few precedents. All errors must be made on the side of fairness; each effort in this direction must be as fair or fairer than those which precede it.
12. People's courts are answerable to the people and complete transcripts of every word that was said must be made available to brothers and sisters who want to decide for themselves.
13. Any group of sisters and brothers who come together and call themselves a Peoples' court must individually accept the responsibility. Every person involved must consider themselves also on trial and answerable to the criticism of the people.
14. Sisters and brothers criticizing each other is second in importance only to brothers and sisters criticizing themselves. If we do not learn from each other's errors, our revolution will take a very long time.
15. The only sentence a peoples' court may give is that the people shall know the truth.

I concur with the above - Gerald R. Swift

Jacques R. Lewis - INVESTIGATOR
PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE

we heard Jacques' evidence for the above

CONCURRENCE WITH THE ABOVE
- M. L. COLE

conclusions and agreed with the

ness of his conclusions - Stylianos

I agree with Jacques conclusions - Eva Forde

In concurrence; S. Rivers

I concur with the above - A. S. Smith

TO MY KNOWLEDGE
THE INFORMATION
COMPILED BY JAMES
IS ACCURATE J.D. RILEY

I concur with the above
CONCLUSIONS (EVIDENCE) - Mich
HARD
021534

CONCLUSIONS

1. The practice of issuing open letters of denunciation to a brother or sister of the revolution is divisive, dangerous, and lazy.
2. Popeye grew into his role by loving contact with brothers and sisters of a higher revolutionary awareness.
3. Popeye made many errors but the ultimate guilt belongs to a system of oppression responsible for the black ghetto and the Department of Corrections. He spent the greatest part of his life under their influence and his consciousness was corrupted and warped. Revolutionary practice was his salvation and was slowly unleashing higher levels of awareness. To have suffered so much and still been capable of growth is to be one of the true heroes of the revolution. There is no greater heroism. JACQUES YES - New Days
4. He made many mistakes and they should be freely admitted. Not only do they show the lengthy journey he had to make to higher consciousness but also they are all lessons that all brothers and sisters should learn, lest they fall into the same errors of thought and action.
 - a. He threatened brothers and sisters with a pistol and hit one of them with it.
 - b. He enticed brothers and sisters into activities that got them busted in order to make money for himself.
 - c. He helped precipitate the suicide of a brother in Folsom by trying to terrorize him.
 - d. He said things to the Department of Corrections that ~~were harmful~~ ^{could have been} to his fall-partner in a 1972 bust. HA.
 - e. He recruited prostitutes by intimidation and took money from them.
 - f. He sold heroin on the streets and from the United Prisoners' Union offices. He lied to his sisters and brothers and used the energy of the revolution to beat a heroin bust in 1973 when he was actually guilty.
 - g. He stole the money of the people, ~~and used it to support an extravagant lifestyle.~~
 - h. He spread divisive information about brothers and sisters in the movement that he did not like.
 - i. He trashed brothers and sisters of the revolution with unwarranted criticism.
 - j. He gave speeches that indiscriminately urged sisters and brothers to violence.
4. Cecil Williams is another spokesperson for the revolution who has made serious errors:
 - a. He told lies in an attempt to mislead people about his relationship with Popeye.
 - b. He reveals his racist attitudes by calling ^{many} ~~anyone~~ who disagrees with him a racist and promotes disunity with these tactics.
 - c. He openly displays his sexist attitudes in bars and at parties.
 - d. He openly lusts for power and defines a revolutionary as someone who has power in the form of followers.
 - e. He does not maintain a revolutionary lifestyle.

Check this out. I have a question that lies heavily on my mind, maybe you people can help...

I have been checking out B.A.R.C. leaflets, which is the printing & distributing of in full test the communiques. From people sure enough dealing with all the bullshit the pigs are laying down on us each & every day... I can dig this because pig media is just lying mother fuckers that ain't saying shit about the underground.

But recently, I trucked down to a film benefit at La Pena in Berkeley... I saw a B.A.R.C. table selling this literature, around this table I saw a so-called brother who had told me he was a B.A.R.C. member. He was wearing a Kaplan T-shirt, along with other people. Now I ain't too down on the political side yet, but ain't this some crazed chick who was out to get Lenin? Man something don't jive here, B.A.R.C. is putting out all the righteous communiques, but what the fuck is their political trip?

If I was into underground destruction, I sure enough would know who these people are who put out my rap.

What is it?

Yeah, one other number. I wrote B.A.R.C. asking this same shit and they didn't bother to say fuck off.....



"We're Involved in a War -

A People's War against those who oppress the People. This is War in the Clearest Sense of the Word."

Dear New Dawn:

Re your letter of August 13. We have decided that it would serve no useful purpose to participate in a meeting where just B.A.R.C. and New Dawn were present as we stated before. If we had a working relationship with each other, such a meeting would be appropriate. Since that is not the case, we cannot see what practical benefit could come of it.

B.A.R.C.

Carlin, Illinois

Dear friends,

On August 13, 1975 at the U.S. Penitentiary in Carlin, Illinois I began a hunger strike. I am not eating anything or drinking anything but water. My acts are a protest against a discriminatory sentence I was given by the prison officials today. I was taken before a committee of the Unit Behavior Modification program and told I had to serve sixty days in the "box-cars" before I would be considered for a regular tier like all the other prisoners here. In the "box-cars" I am isolated from other prisoners. My light in the cell has a steel cover so as to be quite dim. I have two doors on my cell. One door is of steel bars, and the other is solid steel with a small window. This door is used to cut off daylight and sound. In this particular cell the bed is broken, so I must sleep on the floor. The "box-cars" are considered the extreme punishment cells of this prison. In this prison's history I am the first to be handed a sixty day sentence. My demands to settle my protest are that I be placed on a regular tier with all the other prisoners and be treated equally. I accuse the prison of political discrimination for my beliefs. I am an admitted anarchist-communist and a well known political activist for prison reform and abolition.

I ask that you circulate this news and ask that letters of protest against my treatment here be written to:

Director Norman Carlson
U.S. Bureau of Prisons
Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.
and that copies be sent to Congressman Ralph Metcalf, U.S. Congress
Washington, D.C., and to Peoples Law Office, 2396 N. Halsted
Chicago, Illinois.

I need your support. My very life is on the line due to this protest. These officials will think nothing of letting me die. But principles are also in question. The officials know that what they are doing is discriminatory, and they know I know. It is a challenge to me. I will not merely sit and let them do as they wish with me. I am a man and demand to be treated as such.

Sincerely,

Walter Jackson
Box 1007
P.O. Box 1007
Carlin, Ill. 60009



Shit, I thought it was understood that combat units would be breaking people out as soon as possible when I'm incarcerated. I'm just thinking nowadays our Peoples Army go to be strong enough so it won't just be up to the Man when I get out of here, or if they ever free my ass again. Sometimes I'm thinking, tripping heavy, someday I'll be woke a shot far off and looking up from the bunk I see a gurrill maybe an amazon woman, with R.A.H. and she says "time to go, motherfucker".

We all know it's going to happen. We have examples from other countries to learn from but it's going to be hard cause the fascists have been learning from them too. I can't see why our Peoples Army is wrong in making people think they're stronger than they are. It's a matter of building people's confidence in the guerrillas. On the other end, it's important for the comrades locked down to keep on and have confidence. There's no doubt in my mind that we're going to be stronger tomorrow. Without some faith we ain't going nowhere.

James L.

"A REVOLUTION IS NOT
A DINNER PARTY, OR
WRITING AN ESSAY, OR
PAINTING A PICTURE,
OR DOING EMBROIDERY.
A REVOLUTION IS AN U
SURRECTION, AN ACT O
VIOLENCE BY WHICH ON
CLASS OVERTHROWS AND
ER.

- MAO TSE-TUNG

WE
BELIEVE
IN
ORDER.



POLITICAL
OPPOSITION
IS
NOT
ORDERLY



UP
AND
ON

Victory or Death!

9/8/66
R/S

UNOFFICIAL DEDICATION -

To MY COMRADES IN THE N.W.L.F. :

THEY DEMANDED THE TRUTH
AND WOULD NOT BACK DOWN

Jacques

Q215

91:
IS IS A COPY***THIS IS A COPY***THIS IS A COPY****THIS IS A COPY****

NDC and BARC, as the O of A, have taken revolutionary steps to develop a principled dialogue between the aboveground and the underground. We salute you for your accomplishments in the interest of oppressed people and send our love to you. We call on BARC and NDC to discuss the question raised. What are the objectives (if any) of NDC in presenting this approach criticism of BARC in this manner? (our of context of comradely support as we see it). What are the objectives of BARC (if any) if the criticisms raised in the letter should prove in any way true, and if true, what all does the dissemination of information by BARC in the alleged manner have upon objectivity? Is it in the best interest of oppressed people?

We feel that it is important that both organizations (collectives) consider the possibilities that Coiteloro agents may be issuing letters and other communications in the name of supporters of underground and aboveground groups, and that some of the divisive subjective trashing and other unprincipled criticism may be the work of pigs. We see this activity as one of their most effective weapons. We do not call on a meeting between BARC and NDC, but we suggest a furthering of comradely dialogue to better resolve the possible or potential development of contradictions.

We send comradely love to any/all comrades engaged in establishing the peoples principled communications bases. We call for comradely support and criticism.

We send our deepest revolutionary love to the Peoples Forces and Jonathan Jackson/Sam Melville Units of the NWLF, BLA, FLAN, WUC, RGF, SCLF, AIM, Zapata Unit, Rainbow Underground, all comrades held prisoner behind enemy lines, and all peoples guerrilla forces.

Towards Total Liberation
a luta continua

Peoples Intelligence Unit
Future Forces
New World Liberation Front

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